

Andrew Carnegie, the great Pittsburgh iron millionaire, got married last week and sailed for Europe. Before getting married he settled \$20,000 a year on his bride, who was already in her own right a rich woman. Andrew Carnegie is a "self made man" as the phrase goes. A poor Scotch boy, he commenced life as a telegraph messenger and is now worth at least \$10,000,000—a matter which shows, according to the philosophy of some of our contemporaries, that any poor Scotch boy, who is industrious and energetic, can come to this country, commence life as a telegraph messenger, and get \$10,000,000 by the time he is fifty-four years old. Mr. Carnegie is not, however, one of those self made men who worship their maker, but, in spite of his wealth, has many noble and generous qualities. Dr. W. Mendenhall, who has been his private physician for some time, has made large donations for public purposes to the city of Pittsburgh, and has adorned his native Scottish town with a fine public bath and a good library, besides purchasing for himself a castle and estate in Scotland and making a beautiful summer resort in the mountains of Pennsylvania. He has, moreover, written some entertaining books, among them one called "Triumph of Democracy," in which he views the institutions and life of his adopted country through such rose-colored spectacles as a genial and generous gentleman who has made ten million dollars might naturally wear. We wish him much happiness in his new relation, and have no envy that he is able to settle on his bride an income of twenty thousand dollars as long as she may live. Nevertheless, that one citizen of the republic, and he by no means the richest, is able to settle twenty thousand dollars a year upon his bride and think no more of it than an ordinary citizen of the republic would of presenting his bride with a rolled-gold breastpin, is well worthy of consideration.

Andrew Carnegie's wealth comes in large part from what we call "protection to American industry," that beneficent system of taxation which we are told is imposed for the benefit of the American laborer, and which is supposed to keep the "poor American workingman" from being crowded to the wall by competition with the "pauper labor" of Europe. But whatever this system of "protecting" American labor may do for men like Andrew Carnegie, who are so fortunate as to become iron masters and get possession of iron mines, it certainly does not enable the men who do the actual labor to settle twenty thousand dollars a year on their wives.

Year before last—the last year for which we have any statistics—the wages paid to miners in the Center county mine of Carnegie Brothers & Co. were \$1.15 a day for inside miners, and \$1.10 for outside miners, and the number of days' work that the men got in the year at these wages was 119. Thus, Mrs. Carnegie gets as a wedding present as much as the aggregate earnings of one hundred and forty-five of these protected American laborers, working at this rate, for all the years of her life.

Shall we say, then, that Mr. Carnegie has presented his wife with the equivalent of one hundred and fifty protected Pennsylvania laborers? By no means. These protected Pennsylvania iron miners have to eat in order that they may work, and must have some sort of clothing and some kind of lodging, and, moreover, they likewise are men and are called on by nature to wed so many women—their sexual complements—whom nature, in Pennsylvania as elsewhere, brings into the world in due proportion to men. And if the race is to be perpetuated, they also must have children, just as, we trust, Andrew Carnegie will be blessed with children. Now, if Mr. Andrew Carnegie had presented his bride with so many Pennsylvania miners, just as a southern gentleman in the days preceding the war might have presented his bride with so many negro field hands, how many would it take to give her twenty thousand dollars a year? One hundred and nineteen days' work at an average of \$1.12½ per day would amount to \$134 per year. But after providing with some sort of shelter, the man, his wife and their due allowance of children, how much could a slave owner retain for himself out of \$134 per year? With prices as they are in Pennsylvania, the answer would be—nothing. But let us say that a man, woman and three or four children could somehow be fed, clothed and lodged in Pennsylvania for \$124 per year. On this supposition \$10 would remain. So, therefore, at this rate, what Mr. Carnegie has really presented to his wife is as good as the absolute ownership of two thousand protected American laborers!

We repeat, we have no envy of Mr. Carnegie, and hope he and his bride will enjoy to the fullest their European trip. But what sort of a social system, and what sort of a republic is it, in which one man, and he by no means one of the richest, can give his wife a bridal present equivalent to all that could be got by the hardest taskmaster from the ownership of two thousand American citizens? It is but fair to add that the wages paid by Carnegie Brothers & Co. are about the highest paid in the iron mines of Pennsylvania, an industry which has been the pampered pet of our "protective system."

A still more notable "wedding in high life" took place this week in San Francisco, and the gorgeous details, even to the name of the man who played the organ, and the sorts of costly roses that formed the pyramids of flowers, are telegraphed across the continent; for the great mass of our people whose life is a constant struggle to pay their rent have much the same instinct that makes an Englishman "love a lord," and delight to revel in imagination, in the

luxury of their "betters." Citizen Charles Crocker, the bride's father, is in all but title indeed a lord. In wealth and in power there are few English dukes who could claim precedence of him. He gives to his daughter, by way of wedding present, a check for a million and a magnificent house in New York. So far as brains go, Mr. Crocker is hardly the peer of Mr. Carnegie, but he is a much richer man. He is one of a syndicate who own thousands of miles of railway, millions of acres of land, town sites, hotels, steamship lines, senators, representatives and state legislatures. Twenty-six years ago Mr. Crocker kept a little dry goods store in Sacramento, just such a dry goods store as one of the one-horse dry goods stores that are to be found in the poorer parts of Third avenue. How did he get so rich? By energy, thrift and conscientious honesty? Bah! If Mr. Crocker is a strictly conscientious man, and if he is not a thing as bribery, jobbery, and what could be called downright theft if it was in dollars instead of millions, he would still be keeping a little dry goods store, or more probably would be by this time run out of business by some larger house, and be keeping books or clerking it.

Mr. Crocker is worth nobody knows how many millions of dollars. Perhaps thirty or forty; it may be fifty. He has not, of course, so many actual dollars in his possession, but he has the power of obtaining the produce of labor, in whatever form he may choose to call for it, to that amount. He certainly, by no labor of hand or head, paid at the rates which most citizens of the republic get for labor of hand or head, could have got a million dollars' worth of wealth, or the hundredth part of a million dollars' worth of wealth. When men like Mr. Crocker can get the produce of labor without honestly laboring for it, it is not therefore clear that the men who do honestly labor must get less than they fairly earn?

In the meantime Jacob Sharp is being brought to trial, and sits in court with the state prison staring him in the face. Mr. Sharp is an energetic and persistent man, who takes the world as he finds it, and who saw that New York needed a great public convenience, a railroad on Broadway. The land owners along Broadway had been for years suffering to prevent the building of a railroad, and with things as they are Mr. Sharp saw that the only way to get a Broadway railroad was to bribe the board of aldermen. This he did, and thanks to him and his bribery the means of transportation along Broadway are now a great deal better than when the public were confined to the lumbering old omnibuses.

But another syndicate envied Mr. Sharp and his spoils, and after being harassed half to death he is now on trial, with a good clear conscience, the state prison. Yet in reality he has only done on a comparatively small scale what Mr. Crocker and his associates have done on a large scale. In reality he has only done what in the code of morals that prevails among the richer classes of New York and the country generally it is considered perfectly legitimate to do. Jacob Sharp's real crime is in being legally found out. If this had not occurred he would be to-day one of New York's most respected citizens, in spite of the fact that everybody knew that he had bribed the board of aldermen. And in what is he worse than the "saviors of society" who give thousands and thousands of dollars for the corruption of politics and the buying of voters whenever it suits their purposes? In what is he worse than the officials who try him? Jacob Sharp, the prisoner, and "Fatty" Walsh, the prison keeper! Is there not something incongruous in that? It may be refreshing to see a hoodler sent to prison and a hoodler put on trial, but rare spectacles of this sort cannot much affect boodles.

Mr. Charles A. Dana, in the *Sun*, prints one of those logical articles that are so well calculated to assure men who can afford to pay their cooks five thousand dollars a year, that the people who, by the hardest work, can only get a dollar or two a day, and think themselves fortunate when they get that, are kicking against the pricks of the inevitable when they complain of their lot. Mr. Dana figures it out that if all the wealth of the country were divided per capita, the individual American, man, woman or child, would only have two hundred and seventy-two dollars and forty-five cents worth.

If this be true, it certainly does appear that there is something monstrous in the conditions which enable a single man to get possession of wealth amounting to millions and scores of millions. Some men are bigger, some stronger, some brighter and some wiser than the average man; but there are no such differences between the average man and the superior man as there are between the wealth of the average citizen of the republic and the wealth of the wealthy classes of the republic.

Mr. Dana's notion, however, seems to be that two hundred and seventy-two dollars and forty-five cents is so little that there is not much temptation to an equal division. And to still further do away with even this temptation, he goes on to explain, by a process apparently satisfactory to himself, that if an equal division were attempted, nothing would have any money value, and therefore it would be necessary "to parcel out the land into fifty million shares, to separate the wheat, molasses, rum and calico into fifty million equal lots, to break up the peachblow vase into fifty million fragments, and so on to the end of the schedule."

This is dreadful, and will, no doubt, convince men who are bent upon an equal division of all things that such

an attempt would be fatal—at least to the peachblow vase. But if Mr. Dana will attend the next meeting of the united labor party in his district he will there find people able to tell him how a much more equitable distribution of the wealth of this country than now obtains can be had, and that without any danger to the peachblow vase either.

In the meantime, as appears from a quiet item in a subsequent issue of the *Sun*, he seems to have discovered that his arithmetic was somewhat at fault, and that an equal division, instead of giving only \$272.45 per capita, would, according to the census figures, give each man, woman and child something over \$850, which to the family of five would be what the majority of our people would consider the little fortune of \$4,250.

Let us hope the editor of the *Sun* will push his investigations further. If he does he will see that the present wealth of the country is as nothing compared with the wealth that existing powers of production are competent to produce, and that to utterly abolish poverty, and to make our whole population rich—in the sense of securing to the poorest all that would satisfy every reasonable desire—it is only necessary to abolish the monopolies that make "the leave to toil" a boon, and rob the producer of the fruits of his labor.

An associated press dispatch from Chicago, published in all the daily papers, declares that the red internationalists, the black internationalists and the socialist labor party have united to form a secret association which looks to a violent outbreak in the principal cities of the country in 1889. The anarchists, it is declared, look to 1889 as the time of a widespread depression of industry, accompanied by closing factories, starving workers, rioting and the use of military force, and they propose to get ready for this by secretly organizing their members in what is called scientific warfare, by which is meant the use of fire and explosives.

What the red internationalists, the black internationalists or the green internationalists, if such there be, may be doing or may be looking forward to I do not know, but beneath all the cock and bull stories of anarchical combinations that are telegraphed to the press there is a substratum of actual facts which it is the part of prudent men to look in the face.

It is just as certain as that night follows day that we are ere long to enter a period of industrial depression more widespread and more intense than any the country has yet known. We are now in a period of comparative prosperity, and that unfulfilling index, the stream of immigration, promises to be larger this year than ever before. As a consequence land speculation is rampant all over the country. The price of land is advancing in New York and its vicinity by leaps and bounds, while the "real estate booms" that are raging in fever through the west have had no parallel since the days that preceded the panic of 1857. The height of this speculative fever is the measure of the depth of depression that will follow it.

The philosophy of those periodical alternations of what we call "good times" and "hard times" is simply this:

By virtue of a natural law, increase of population, improvements in the arts of production, the opening of richer natural resources—all the things that go to increase the material progress of society, tend to increase the value of land—the element indispensable to all life and all labor. The intent of this provision in the natural scheme is clear. Were land treated as justice between man and man dictates that it should be treated, the advance in civilization would be an advance toward equality, by the constant increase of that fund due to social growth and social improvement, which can be taken for common uses without hampering production or lessening the legitimate reward of the individual producers. But by making land private property, by permitting its appropriation, and extending to its ownership the same rights which we justly accord to things produced by human labor, we permit the owners of land to take for their own benefit the enormous increment of wealth which comes from social growth and social improvement.

This inevitably leads to speculation—to the appropriation of land in advance of the need for its use, and to the holding of it at prices based, not upon what labor and capital can be forced to give for its use in the present, but on the prospect of what in the future they may be forced to give. Thus a check is imposed upon production, for labor and capital, the active factors in the production of wealth, are utterly useless unless they can obtain access to the passive factor—land.

This condition of things is chronic in an advancing society like ours, and even in the best of times there is, owing to the appropriation of land in advance of actual needs, and the holding of it at prices that discount the future, a "surplus" of capital seeking investment and a "surplus" of labor seeking employment. But when from any cause there comes a season of comparative prosperity, then the tendency of land values to advance gives a fresh impulse to speculation, which finally so checks production as to bring about a dislocation or paralysis of the interlaced network of production and exchange, and we have a "panic" or "commercial crisis," followed by a season of industrial depression, during which there seems to be an "overproduction" of all the things needed for the satisfaction of material desires while human beings suffer for the want of them. For, though the prices of land go

readily up under the stimulus of speculation, they do not go as readily down when the fever of speculation is over. The man who has bought land at a high price and the man who holds lands he might have sold for a high price, are naturally disposed to "hang on" as long as they can, rather than sell, for they know that the general tendency of social growth is to add to the value of land, and that if they only hold on they may yet grasp fortune.

The present fever of speculation in land must, under present conditions, have, therefore, for its inevitable consequence another season of depression, bitterer than any we have yet experienced, for even in these alternations of what we call "good times" and "bad times" the general condition of the mere laborer has been growing harder and more helpless, and the tendency has been to the eating up the smaller capitalists by the greater, and to the crowding of a larger and larger proportion of the self-employed middle class into the class of dependent workers. With this a bitter and largely a blind discontent has been growing. And while anything like anarchistic organizations may be ridiculously small in numbers, there can be no question that a considerable element among the bitterly dissatisfied classes have been becoming familiarized with the idea of a resort to physical force and to destructive agents. The bursting of a bomb in the Haymarket of Chicago, the explosion of an infernal machine on a steamer that left New York during the late freight handlers' strike, and the increasing number of cases in which during labor disputes in other parts of the country similar methods have been attempted are deeply ominous, for they both show and promote a dangerous habit of thought. And while the tendency of the great organizations of labor, such as the trades unions and the Knights of Labor, has been, by increasing responsibility and introducing a certain discipline to hold in check the disposition to resort to any other than peaceable methods, a season of deep depression, accompanied, as it is likely to be, with a greater or less disintegration of these organizations, furnishes just the conditions in which such ideas may take shape. There are times when a single fool or a single fanatic may start a conflagration that a thousand men cannot stop.

Whether they belong to any organization or not, there are to-day, as everyone acquainted with the labor movement knows, a considerable number of men who have come to believe that the readiest, if not the only, means by which existing unjust social conditions can be changed for the better, is through violence of some sort. Few of these men are avowed anarchists; most of them have no more definite idea than that there is some deep wrong in the constitution of society which can never get redress until the property classes fling their own comfort and safety into the fire.

This is a dangerous element, but it is only the correlative of a still more dangerous element, that influential class, controlling most of the organs of public opinion and education, who exert all their power to suppress any honest inquiry into the causes of the injustice which the masses so bitterly feel. Violence is the method of ignorance and despair. Men who see the possibility of a peaceful remedy for their wrongs do not turn to it.

The real conservatives of to-day are those who, having traced social injustice to its real root, the fundamental wrong which disintegrates the masses and causes material progress itself to make harder the lot of the mere laborer, are endeavoring to popularize the simple yet efficient remedy involved in freeing production from the taxes now levied upon it, and taking for social uses the values created by social growth and improvement.

"This thing is absolutely certain: Private property in land blocks the way of advancing civilization. The two cannot long coexist. Either private property in land must be abolished, or, as has happened again and again in the history of mankind, civilization must again turn back in anarchy and bloodshed. Let the remaining years of the nineteenth century bear me witness. Even now, I believe, the inevitable struggle has begun. It is not conservatism which would ignore such a tremendous fact. It is the blindness that invites destruction. He that is truly conservative let him look the facts in the face; let him speak frankly and dispassionately. This is the duty of the hour. For, when a great social question presses for settlement, it is only for a little while that the voice of Reason can be heard. The masses of men hardly think at any time. It is difficult even in sober moments to get them to calmly reason. But when passion is roused, then they are like a herd of stampeded bulls. I do not fear that present social adjustments can continue. That is impossible. What I fear is that the dams may hold till the flood rises to fury. What I fear is that dogged resistance on the one side may kindle a passionate sense of wrong on the other. What I fear are the demagogues and the accidents."

"The present condition of all civilized countries is that of increasing unstable equilibrium. In steam and electricity, and all the countless inventions which they typify, mighty forces have entered the world. If rightly used, they are our servants, more potent to do our bidding than the genii of Arabian story. If wrongly used, they, too, must turn to monsters of destruction. They require and will compel great social changes. That we may already see. Operating under social institutions which are based on natural justice, which acknowledge the

equal rights of all to the material and opportunities of nature, their elevating power will be equally exerted, and industrial organization will pass naturally into that of a vast co-operative society. Operating under social institutions which deny natural justice by treating land as private property, their power is unequally exerted, and tends, by producing inequality, to engender forces that will tear and shatter. The old bottles cannot hold the new wine. This is the ferment which throughout the civilized world is everywhere beginning."

It is now five years since I wrote these words. What has happened since, and is now happening, has all the more convinced me of their truth.

Finley Bell, secretary of the Scottish land restoration league, 65 Bath street, Glasgow, writes to me to ask if some money cannot be raised in the United States for the purpose of propagating radical land ideas in Scotland, and especially in the highlands.

John Ferguson of the publishing firm of Cameron & Ferguson, Glasgow, a man who, though living in Scotland, was one of the six originators of the Irish land league, and one of the most active promoters of the movement, writes to me to the same effect. Mr. Ferguson says: "The time has come for a bold effort in the highlands. Can you raise some money for the good work? Irish, Scotch, Germans—all 'humanitarians'—should aid in this cause. We have now a good cause. We shall do our best. A few hundred pounds will enable us to take high ground. We can now carry mining and crofter constituencies upon the bottom principle. Would you try if your readers will help the crofters and committee?"

The *Irish World* of this week also publishes a letter from Mr. Ferguson to the same effect. He recalls, what is indeed true, that the land movement in Skye was kindled by Irish aid. Patrick Egan advanced \$200 from the Irish land league funds, subsequently repaid from Glasgow, and Mr. Ferguson sent Edward McHugh, an Irish Scotchman, whose soul was in the cause, up to Skye to sow the seed on ready ground. Mr. Ferguson now asks for more aid for the same purpose, promising that not a cent shall go in payment of rent, as unfortunately much of the American fund expended in Ireland went.

Are there not among us some Scottish Americans with love enough for the old land to do for Scotland what Patrick Ford and his associates did for Ireland, and who will take charge of this matter, and begin the raising of a Scottish land league fund? The Irish land movement never could have made the headway it has but for the funds contributed on this side, especially in the beginning. The people were too far down. Very much the same condition of things exists in Scotland. The crofters and cottiers of the highlands, especially of Skye, have, as I personally know, a firm hold of the truth that "God made Scotland for Scotchmen," but they are desperately poor, and the money that has been raised for them has been put in the hands of respectabilities whose endeavor it is to let the movement get no further than some picaresque demand for "tenant right" or reduced rents. The Caledonian club of this city donated some months ago a handsome sum to aid the crofter agitation, but it was unfortunately sent to "whiggish" hands. The men who can make money tell are the radicals, such as compose the Scottish land restoration league, and whose aim is not to reduce rents, but to appropriate them.

Cannot our Scottish clubs get up a committee to aid in the matter? In the meantime, if anyone desires to send pecuniary aid to the good cause in Scotland let them remit to Finley Bell or to John Ferguson. Or if they choose they can send the money to THE STANDARD and it will be acknowledged and forwarded. HENRY GEORGE.

DR. M'GLYNN IN BROOKLYN.

He Delivers His Lecture on the Cross of the New Crusade to an Immense Audience.

On last Wednesday evening it was Brooklyn's turn to do honor to Rev. Dr. M'Glynn. A big audience collected in the Academy of Music to hear the famous divine deliver his lecture on "The Cross of the New Crusade," a full report of which THE STANDARD published at the time of its first delivery a few weeks ago here in New York. Among those present were Thomas G. Shearman, John P. Crawford, John M'Glynn, General Benjamin F. Tracy, Supervisor-at-large Quintard, William C. De Witt, the Rev. Dr. Justin D. Fulton, Supervisor James Waters, ex-Assessor Howard Breen, ex-Judge William Watson, Lawyers Place, Gaynor and Patterson, Ralph Robt, Postmaster Joseph C. Hendrix, H. K. Sheldin, Dr. Gray, Franklin Allen, John V. Brown, Dr. Menninger, John T. Casey, Judah B. Voorhes, Henry J. Gildersleeve, John F. Malone, James Ball, John P. Campbell and Charles F. Wingate.

From the moment that Dr. M'Glynn came upon the stage with Henry George, Victor A. Wilder, chairman of the general committee of Kings county united labor party, and John M'Glynn of New York, great enthusiasm prevailed. Dr. M'Glynn's address was listened to with intense interest, and the hands of the clock pointed to almost 11 when the lecturer ceased speaking. Henry George presided.

Eager to Read "The Standard."

SPOKANE FALLS, W. T., April 20.—Right here in Washington territory the battle cry of "the land for the people" does not find general acceptance. One reason is that there is a class of gentry here known as real estate brokers that send out their doggers to the east, where hundreds of unthinking individuals fall into the trap. Then there are mortgage companies which advance money to the needy pioneer, who is fortunate enough to have got 100 acres from Uncle Sam. In the course of ten or twelve years Mr. Pioneer's farm will be absorbed, and he, with his family, must look to the town as a place of better possibilities, competing for work with those who are already there. Nevertheless, there are thinkers here, and so eager are they to get THE STANDARD that it is actually stolen at times. Money is very scarce or they would buy it. Yours for justice. W. R. VAN DOLAN.

A MANLY PROTEST.

Rev. Dr. Curran Refuses to Sign the Archbishop's Address.

The following correspondence explains itself:

NEW YORK, April 21.
Rev. JAMES T. CURRAN.—Rev. and Dear Sir: As Wednesday, May 4, will be the anniversary of the consecration of the most reverend archbishop, we, the undersigned, in common with a number of the clergy whom we have consulted in the matter, think that it would be a fitting occasion on which to present to him the appended address.

Already it has been signed by over two hundred of the secular priests of the diocese, and by a large number of the regular clergy.

If the address has not been brought to your notice, or if you have not yet signed it and desire to do so, we respectfully ask you to subscribe to the accompanying copy, and return it at your earliest convenience to Rev. John F. Kearney, No. 263 Mulberry street, New York city.

JAMES H. MCGEE, St. Peter's church.
GABRIEL A. HEALY, St. Bernard's church.
JOHN J. MURPHY, S. J., St. Francis Xavier's church.
FRED W. WAYRICH, C. S. S. R., St. Alphonsus church.
JOHN F. KEARNEY, St. Patrick's church.
JOHN EDWARDS, Church of the Immaculate Conception.
NICHOLAS J. HUGHES, St. Mary's church.
THOMAS LYNCH, Transfiguration church.
MARTIN J. BROPHY, Church of the Sacred Heart.
ANACLETUS DA ROCCAGORGA, O. S. F., St. Anthony's church.
JOSEPH F. MOONEY, St. Patrick's church.
JAMES DOUGHERTY.

(Inclosed Address.)

MOST REV. ARCHBISHOP—We, the priests of the archdiocese of New York, come before you to express our sincere attachment to you and our unfeigned and cheerful loyalty to your authority.

We recognize in you our ecclesiastical superior, who, being in full communion with the head of the Catholic church, the successor of St. Peter, lawfully rule, teach and judge this portion of the flock of Christ—the archdiocese of New York.

Conformably to the exhortation of St. Paul, we look up to you as our "prelate who speaks to us the word of God, whose faith we follow." And, pondering the grave injunction of the same apostle: "Obey your prelates and be subject to them; for they watch as being to render an account of your souls, that they may do this with joy, and not with grief: for this is not expedient for you." Hebrews xiii, 17. We desire also, on this occasion to express our emphatic disapproval and reprobation of the act of disobedience and disloyalty to your authority of which a certain member of our body has made himself guilty—an act of disloyalty aggravated by his subsequent course.

We have been patiently hoping and praying that our dear brother would change his mind and return to his father's house. But, observing that our charitable silence is construed into acquiescence in, and approval of, disobedience, and that it causes some surprise both here and abroad—learning, moreover, that it is publicly asserted that he is believed to uphold the cause of the clergy in general, we feel it our duty to make this solemn declaration to you, that the clergy of the archdiocese of New York utterly condemn all disobedience to lawfully constituted authority, especially to the authority of the church, and can have no sympathy with the efforts of those who in any way set that authority aside. Our motto shall always be: "An obedient man shall speak of victory."—Prov. xxi, 28.

NEW YORK, April 28, 1887.

To Rev. James H. McGee, Rev. Gabriel A. Healy, Rev. John J. Murphy, Rev. Fred W. Wayrich, Rev. John F. Kearney, Rev. John Edwards, Rev. Nicholas J. Hughes, Rev. Thomas Lynch, Rev. Martin J. Brophy, Rev. Anacletus da Roccagorga, Rev. Joseph F. Mooney and Rev. James Dougherty:—*Rev. and Dear Sirs:* I have received from you a circular letter requesting my signature to a printed address to our archbishop. I cannot conscientiously comply with your request.

I regret that you and other priests of this diocese find it necessary to express in a public document your loyalty to authority. I should feel guilty of a calumny if I should sign the paper sent to me, containing, as it does, these words: "We desire, on this occasion, to record our emphatic disapproval and reprobation of the act of disobedience and disloyalty to your authority, of which a certain member of our body has made himself guilty; an act of disloyalty aggravated by his subsequent course." It is not disloyalty to act according to admitted principles of Catholic theology. These principles teach us that every Catholic is free to adhere to an opinion until it shall have been condemned by the one legitimate authority.

You speak of a "certain member of our body" as disobedient and disloyal. I know of none such. The priest to whom I am told you refer in your address has declared again and again that if the doctrine, for refusing to abandon which he is still suspended from his pastoral office, should be condemned by the only authority we all recognize in such matters, he would, as a Catholic, repudiate it. And I know with certainty that that authority, so far from condemning, has never even examined the doctrine. I am entirely at a loss to know what "aggravation" of his alleged disloyalty you are able to find in what you call "his subsequent course." It is not true, on the contrary, that Dr. M'Glynn has maintained a discreet silence, broken only by a statement made necessary to supplement the incomplete presentation of his case in an authoritative published document. Moreover, I should feel guilty of a pharisaic hypocrisy if, after seeing by my signature to approve that portion of your address which I have just said I could not sign without feeling guilty of calumny, I should join with you in saying: "We have been patiently hoping and praying that our dear brother would change his mind and return to his father's house. It would seem to me mockery to call one my 'dear brother' at a moment, when I knew I was calumniating him, and while pharisaically praying for the return of the 'dear brother' to his father's house. I should be conscious that I was calumniating him by implying that he had ever abandoned his father's house. This calumny would be all the more unpardonable since the 'dear brother' has several times publicly asserted with the greatest emphasis and solemnity that he never has and never will abandon what you must mean by 'his father's house,' the holy Catholic church. If, by his return to

the length and breadth of Australia. We intend, by holding public meetings, to "spread the light."

W. GILFORD.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

An Impossible Insurance.

NEW YORK, April 5.—Will you please set me right on the following: Suppose, under the new system, I had saved an amount of money sufficient to build a house, and that, immediately after having completed it, an enemy of mine should signify his willingness to pay for the use of the ground which I occupied a tax which I could not afford (and which he had not the slightest idea of continuing to pay—his sole object being to annoy me), and I were compelled to quit, would my house be confiscated, or would my successor be compelled to pay me an amount equal to the value of the house?

The case could not arise. The value of your land would not be affected by the malicious bid of an enemy, but only by general land values in your neighborhood. If the land value tax were in practical operation your enemy would not offer to pay a higher tax than you were paying. There would be no one to whom he could make the offer. If he wanted your land he would have to go to you and make you a buying offer, not for the land, but for the land and the house together. If that were not a bona fide offer, or even if it were, but was high because the place had a sentimental value to him, and whether you accepted or declined, the basis of taxation would not be affected. But if the offer was an index to the value of land in that neighborhood, and was higher than the existing basis of taxation, then and only then would your tax be raised if you refused to sell, or his be higher than yours if you did sell.

Suppose you took up a vacant lot, which, on account of the land value tax, was thrown open, and built a house upon it costing \$2,000. Then the whole would be worth \$2,000, and your basis of taxation would be nothing. Suppose, then, that "immediately after having completed" your house your enemy offered you \$2,500 for it, and it appeared that similar properties in the same location were also commanding \$2,500, what would be the inevitable inference? Would it not be a matter of simple arithmetic?

Value of the real estate..... \$2,000
Value of the improvements..... 200
Total value of the property..... \$2,200
Value of the land..... 200
Present basis of taxation..... 000
Additional basis of taxation..... 200

At what point in this transaction would you be wronged? And how could your enemy, to use a vulgarism, "get the bulge on you?"

How the People Would be Benefited.

BEAUMONT, Tex.—Your theory of taking all land rent as taxes is a puzzling innovation to me; not so much because I resist the idea as because I cannot understand how you will adjust the proposed change to a just apportionment of benefit to all without creating just as oppressive a system of favoritism as we now endure. To make my meaning clearer I will quote from Father McGlynn's great speech of March 29. He says:

"What is the law of rent? Where there is competition for a larger or choicer portion of the common bounty, for a portion of the land, is nearest to the junction of two great rivers, that is near to a great city, or a corner lot, say Broadway and Wall streets, or at Broadway and Twenty-third, there rent exists. And how is the competition for the use of such land to be decided? Simply by allowing it to go to the highest bidder."

Now this illustrates the difficulty in a nutshell. By substituting the government as a landlord for an individual, how have you benefited the people? If competition is to adjust the rate of rents under the new regime then the one who commands the largest amount of ready cash will secure the use of the property, or land, most desired; hence, the river front, the landing at the ocean port, the corner lot, indeed, all desirable land will be rented by the monopolist as now, and the state will be the only beneficiary.

At least, this is the way your proposition impresses me; but I declare myself open to conviction and would like to see these difficulties removed.

HAL W. GREER.

Land now goes to the highest bidder. Whoever will pay the most annual rent for any particular land gets it. It is not proposed to change this. What is proposed is to make the beneficiary of the rent pay all taxes. There would be no substitution of the government as a landlord. But if there were, who is the government? Is it not the people themselves?

It is not the one who can command the largest amount of ready cash that will get the best places when this tax is in vogue, any more than it is now. It will be then, as it is now, the one who can use it to best advantage. Remember, we are speaking of users, not of idle owners. A. T. Stewart was able to make the best use of the corner of Tenth street and Broadway, and he got it, paying his rent to Sailor's Snug Harbor out of the income he derived from the use of the land. If the land value tax had been in force, he would have got that land all the same, and paid the rent all the same, and Sailor's Snug Harbor would have received it all the same; the difference would have been this, that Sailor's Snug Harbor, instead of pocketing all the rent, would have been compelled to pay a greater or less proportion of it, according to the rate of tax, over to the people, they being untaxed on all they produced and all they consumed, would that not have been a benefit to the people?

The Man with a Covetous Eye.

BOISE CITY.—We are situated here in a choice portion of the country, both as regards climate and produce. In the issue of THE STANDARD of the 23d inst., containing Rev. Father McGlynn's speech, he uses the figures of the "painting or the race horse" to illustrate how the land will be disposed of under the new regime. Now, I want to ask what is to hinder or prevent the capitalist or the man of means from running me off my portion of the common land? In other words, I have an acquaintance who is industrious and persevering, and these qualities, coupled with his good taste and "innate sense of the beautiful," enables him to reclaim from the desert (all lands here being desert until reclaimed by irrigation, which entails much toil and expense), a farm which, under the circumstances mentioned, has rendered an earthly paradise—a poet's ideal of a rural home. I have "barrels of money," and casting a covetous eye over the farm aforesaid, I proceed to the constituted authorities and offer a rental double or treble the figures my neighbor can possibly afford to pay. He, by his industry and abundant talent, has rendered the place beautiful and it captivates my senses. I, by my "spot cash," can drive him again into the desert to again become the prey of another ogre like myself.

We trust you are an earnest seeker, for anyone in such utter darkness must indeed be an earnest seeker to be able ever to see light. In the figure to which you refer, Mr. McGlynn did not undertake to illustrate "how the land will be disposed of under the new regime." He used the figure to meet the objections of people who pretend to believe that we want to divide land up in little bits and to give every man a bit.

The capitalist could not run you off of

your portion of the common land against your will, because your tax would be based on the market value of the land, and not on some isolated offer for a particular piece. When your friend with the "innate sense of the beautiful" had reclaimed a farm from the desert and rendered it "an earthly paradise, a poet's ideal of a rural home," the earthly paradise and poet's ideal would be land improvement, and not land; its value would be an improvement value and not a land value. That you could see by comparing its value with the value of the desert land around it. And when you, with your "barrels of money" and your "covetous eye" proceeded to the constituted authorities and offered "a rental double or treble" what your neighbor could afford to pay, the constituted authorities would tell you that they had nothing to do with the matter, and if you wanted your neighbor's farm you must proceed with your barrels of money and your covetous eye to your neighbor and bargain for it with him. And when the local assessors made their annual rounds, whether they found you or your neighbor in possession of the earthly paradise and poet's ideal, they would fix its value at what it would bring unimproved, and would tax accordingly.

The "ogre" business will not be profitable when land values alone are taxed; and if you really have "barrels of money" and "a covetous eye," you had better give them free rein now, for you won't have a chance when that system of taxation comes in vogue.

Savings Banks.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—The writer is a believer in your doctrine of land ownership, but is puzzled to know how it can be put in effect without depriving innocent people of the fruits of honest labor now invested under the protection of the state.

How would your plan for the resumption of land ownership by the state affect money deposited in savings banks, such money being largely lent by the banks on real estate security?

Does it contemplate the assumption of liability by the state for money so lent?

FRED P. MORGAN.

The plan of shifting all taxes from products of labor to land values does not contemplate the assumption of liability by the state for money lent on real estate security. It does not require the resumption of land ownership by the state at all.

Even though carried at once to the point of taxing rent to the full limit, the land value tax would not deprive "innocent people of the fruits of honest labor," except as all recoveries of human liberty involve loss of investments in human slavery. But as the shifting of taxes, even in slight degree, must be preceded by agitation, and the increase of taxes must be gradual, a sufficient period of time will elapse while land values are falling, for investments to be so shifted that such small loss as there is will be widely distributed among investors.

Your savings banks would have their improvements free of taxes. To that extent their security would be better than now; but their land values would, in course of time, be nothing. Such a condition, brought about gradually, would not endanger legitimate capital; but, as it is as certain to come as to-morrow's sun, and that before many years, you had better, if you fear the result to savings banks, do what you can to substitute a department of the postoffice for savings institutions. That would be a good thing to do anyhow.

That Everlasting Cure All.

NEW YORK, April.—I am a firm believer in the justice of land nationalization, but I differ where you claim it to be a "cure all" of every disease which inflicts humanity. There are other evils to combat which must be remedied to completely solve the labor problem. Capital will still continue to be lord of all creation and force labor to the wall if it be only equipped with its natural muscle and brains. The big fish will swallow the small fry.

Suppose two men were to settle each on a piece of land—one possessing the necessary capital to procure the latest and best instruments and machinery, and to employ the best skilled labor; the other, the less favored, to be dependent on his labor and perhaps a little capital. The first move of the poorer neighbor would be for a house, and to be assisted with a mortgage. With his inferior instruments of production he would be unable to compete with his neighbor, but would still be able to produce enough for his own maintenance. Here is the rub. He would be unable to pay the interest on the mortgage or unable to meet the taxes.

Those who had not the wherewithal to compete with the advantages afforded to capital would be compelled to give up the idea of being independent and self-supporting, and search for employment, as they are compelled to do at present. In case of necessity, they could not fall back on natural opportunities. Capital would still be the lord and master of all it surveys.

HARRY WHITE.

We do not agree with THE STANDARD in its notions that the land value tax will cure everything. We insist upon excepting whooping cough and measles; and are not disposed to make any greater concession than that the tax may have a tendency to keep smallpox and diphtheria in check. That there are evils other than land monopoly to combat is true. In navigation it is necessary to do something besides building a ship; but it would be a stupid sort of navigation that did not begin with building a ship. So it is a stupid sort of economic reform that does not begin with equal opportunities of access to land. If capital, a mere creature of labor, is such an oppressive thing, its creator, when free, can strangle it by refusing to reproduce it. But so long as land monopoly holds labor in bondage, the capital owner compels the laborer to reproduce capital perennially under penalty of death.

Capital cannot oppress when land is free, any more than the upper millstone can crush when the under millstone is gone. When land is free labor will be equipped, not only "with its natural muscle and brains," but also with natural opportunities and materials for the exercise of its muscle and brains.

To make our illustration as strong as possible, let us suppose that one of your settlers is a millionaire and the other a penniless tramp. The millionaire with all his capital would be helpless without men to serve him. But men to serve would be easy to find, and when found would be very particular about such trifles as wages and treatment. It would be so easy to get a home and so easy to scratch a living that men would no longer be afraid to lose a job, but employers would be very much afraid of losing men. That being the case, your penniless tramp might be willing to accommodate the millionaire and at the same time to learn the business by way of temporary apprenticeship in return for wages that would soon enable him to build a house without a mortgage. And the millionaire would have to be reasonably

deferential, or the tramp would take up with some one of the numerous other applicants for his service. But suppose the tramp preferred to be his own employer, and was too impatient to wait until he could earn sufficient capital by working for others. He would not have to go far to find free land. That he with his own hands could build a comfortable temporary shelter is proved by the shanties to be seen anywhere up and down erected by their occupants. Then there would be a thousand things that he could work at in the city on his own account and for good wages until he had improved his condition. Meanwhile he would pay neither taxes nor rent. Or if he chose to go a few miles further he would be able to farm, under difficulties for the first year, it is true, owing to lack of capital, but nevertheless under circumstances that would put him further ahead every year. He could not run a big factory or store, or farm without capital; nobody can. But if he worked in a factory or store or on a farm his wages would be just as much for the same work as if he owned it, less only the value of the capital.

Capital may be lord and master of all it surveys; but it can't survey a free man.

No One Would Be Wronged.

LEWISTON, Me.—Suppose a corporation owning a large amount of land in a city or town, the greater part being vacant, "but valuable from its surroundings," and taxed as "wild land," while a small portion is occupied by house owners, who have not been able to purchase the lots they occupy on account of the "monopoly price" at which they are held. Now, in taxing the value of all of this land, how will you protect these tenants (who are to all practical purposes in the power of this company or corporation) from the heavy rents which will be placed upon them to keep full the treasury of these "lords of the earth?"

While I realize that if in such a case it should prove an injury, it would be but to a few in comparison to the many benefited by opening natural resources and by placing God's earth at the disposal of His people, I also believe that for the few who would be wronged there should be a remedy. Will you please state how the wrong can be righted?

C. W. SHAW.

There would be no wrong. The house owners are now paying a ground rental to your imaginary corporation. They cannot be made to pay any more, for the landlord already charges "all the traffic will bear." They would pay less, since the opening up of so much non-valuable land would make them independent of landlords.

But, for simplicity, let us suppose that they continue to pay the same rent. As soon as they had paid it, the corporation would have to pay over to the town, county or state a greater or less proportion of it, or even the whole, according to the rate of taxation. The house owners would not be affected except in exemption from taxes on their houses.

And as to the adjacent vacant land, it would no longer be taxed as "wild land," but at its full value. Then the corporation would be compelled to improve it, or drop it. If they dropped it, everybody that wanted to use a part of it would do so, paying a tax on the value of what he used. When every one who wanted a piece of that land had been satisfied, the remainder would have no value, because no one would want it, and consequently it would be untaxed. If anybody, seeing that this surplus land would be wanted in future, should fence it in and call it his, he would be at liberty to do so; but just as soon as another wanted it the price he would be willing to pay would indicate its value and afford a basis of taxation. Then the speculator would have to give the newcomer what he wanted for nothing, or pay the tax.

How?

BROOKLYN, March 29.—In your answer to E. Svensson you say, "Nor can they increase ground rents when taxes on land values are increased." Please explain more fully. How are house owners who rent their houses to meet the increased taxation if they cannot increase their rent so as to pay the increase?

TIEO. ATWORTH.

They will meet it out of the rent of their land. Tenants pay two rents—ground rent and house rent. Suppose, for illustration, that in a given case ground rent is 10 and house rent 10, the total rent paid by the tenant being 20. Now, let the land value tax be 8. Then the tenant will pay 20 as before, and the house owner will get 10 as before for his house, on which he will pay no tax; but out of the other 10 he will have to pay 8 to the people, to whom it really belongs.

A Few Often-Answered Questions.

MATTEWAN, N. Y.—The following questions have been suggested to me by way of objections to your views: (1) How would taxing land values tend to increase employment? (2) How would it reduce involuntary idleness? (3) How would it reduce pauperism? (4) How would it increase wages? (5) When a house increases in value, is not the increase due to land value and not to the value of brick, mortar and stone? F. M. CARSON.

(1) By opening up vacant land to use, and inducing the occupiers of improved land to still further improve it. Also, by making it possible for the unemployed to go upon the nearest vacant land and work for themselves at any occupation to which the land was adapted. The only limit to employment then would be natural opportunities; now the limit is fixed by the interests or caprice of those who control natural opportunities.

(2) There can be no involuntary idleness when natural opportunities are freely open to use, as would be the case under such a tax. Besides this, everyone who occupied land would want help. Two jobs would be after one man, whereas now two men are after one job.

(3) Every one willing and able to work could get remunerative work to do. That most paupers are willing and able to work is proved by the fact that in good times paupers are few, though in hard times they are many. Paupers who are able but not willing to work were willing once, but having learned in some period of hard times that they live about as well and respectably in idleness as by industry, have turned philosophers. This class might not disappear at once, but it would not be recruited from future generations. As to paupers who are not able to work, the community owes them a decent living.

(4) By making and keeping the demand for labor greater than the supply.

(5) Of course.

Read "Progress and Poverty" carefully and you will be able to meet such elementary questions without difficulty.

A Dubious Benefit.

NEW YORK.—If twenty-five men are working for one dollar and fifty cents a day,

wouldn't it be a benefit to the workmen generally if the employer would take on twenty-five additional men and have them all work a half day for seventy-five cents each? I think if the above plan was carried out many honest men that are now idle would get something to do.

What would you propose when the number of idle honest men still further increased? Would you have the employer take on say fifty more for a quarter of a day each and pay them thirty-seven and a half cents?

Answering your question, we suppose that it would be a temporary benefit to workmen generally, but it would be a benefit that those already at work would find exceedingly difficult to appreciate.

In the Dark About Details.

PORTLAND, Me.—(1) Your answers to my inquiries in THE STANDARD of April 9 are not quite satisfactory. The point in question is this: Do you propose to return to the rightful owners the vast accumulations of wealth which has been transferred from the hands of producers into the hands of non-producers by false and unjust laws, and if so, how? (2) You say that if a person increases his wealth by using his wealth, the increase hurts nobody. If he increases his wealth by producing more wealth, then it hurts nobody, but if he uses it to transfer what others produce into his own hands, then it does hurt somebody. You undoubtedly well know that the money power of this country is using the wealth which they have stolen from the people to bribe and buy congressmen to enact laws which will enable them to keep up this robbery and protect them in it. Money is making the laws, making presidents, making governors and dictating the decisions of courts. (3) While I would not be understood as opposing the principle of land for the people or taxing land values, yet I believe there must be some means of fixing a limitation beyond which the fortunes of individuals and corporations shall not extend, because these great fortunes are acquired by robbery, and experience has shown that they are dangerous to the liberties of the people.

P. H. GORDON.

(1) We do not propose to return to the people the accumulations of wealth that have been stolen from them. If there were to be compensation for land values, we believe it should be from those who have enjoyed these values so long to those who have been robbed of them. But it is not necessary. It will be a big enough job to put a stop to future robbery without troubling ourselves about the past, and that done, the people will soon be as well off as if they had never been robbed, and the monopolists no better off than if they had never robbed. If some one has accumulated great quantities of oil from an unfeeling oil well, let us be satisfied to get access to the well, without bothering about the oil that has been taken from it, and which, in the order of events, must soon be consumed. On this subject read chapter seven of Henry George's "Land Question."

(2) When we said that a man who increased his wealth by using his wealth hurt nobody, we of course meant one who increased his wealth by producing more wealth. That is what happens when capital is used in production. By investing capital in a herd of cattle, we get calves; or in a flock of sheep, we get lambs, the value of which includes compensation for labor, but also something more, which is a product of capital. Or, to take a simpler illustration: Suppose you buy a field of growing wheat in April; if you sold it again in June, you would justly expect more than you had paid for it. It would be "worth more." What is that difference in value? It is not wages, for you have done no work. It is interest on capital. It is value added to a labor product by the natural increase of that product in process of time. It does not hurt the buyer, for he gets value for all he pays. If he paid less, the only effect would be that he, instead of you, would get the interest.

We agree in substance to what you say of the money power. The money question raises an issue which must be met. But if all that were reformed and land treated as it is now, we should be no better off, for the benefits would naturally inure to landlords. But if we first shift taxes to land values we shall be better able with a nation of free citizens to throttle the money power; and having throttled it "the robber that takes all that is left," will not be on hand to profit by the operation.

(3) Great fortunes are dangerous to the liberties of the people, when they are found side by side with great poverty. And that there must be a means of fixing a limitation to them we believe; but that limitation must be in justice as well as good policy be natural, not artificial. Such a limitation is offered by the land value tax. When that reaches the point of taking all land values for public use, and even long before that point is reached, fortunes will be limited by earnings—the natural limitation. When no one can appropriate land values, which are created by all the people, and every man has free access to land, no one can take what he does not earn or what the capital he earns does not produce, unless the law gives him some monopoly privilege similar to that which landlords now enjoy. But such privileges are necessarily few, and when the great privilege is destroyed, can be easily disposed of.

Finally, believing that your heart is right on this question, and that your doubts arise from an imperfect understanding of some details, we earnestly urge you to read "Progress and Poverty" with care, and to follow it with "Social Problems" and "Protection, or Free Trade?"

The Equity of It.

AUBURN, April 8.—In defending the proposed plan of collecting all taxes from land values, the greatest objection I meet is that it would not be fair. To illustrate, suppose I own a lot (which I don't), and Jones owns a lot the same size adjoining mine. I build a \$2,000 house on mine; Jones builds a \$25,000 house on his. Anything that is produced by labor not being taxed, our taxes would, of course, be the same, mine just as much as Jones', while I am worth only \$2,000 and Jones' worth \$25,000. Please explain in the columns of THE STANDARD where the equity would come in.

H. G. CASEY.

Although Jones is worth \$25,000 and you only \$2,000, yet both of you are appropriating the same value of common property. Therefore each ought, in equity, to pay the same sum into the common treasury. If you and Jones each bought the same kind of a purse at the store, and Jones carried \$25,000 in his while you carried only \$2,000 in yours, is that any reason in equity, good conscience or business principle, why you should pay the storekeeper any less for your purse than Jones pays for his? If Jones is worth more than you are, it is because he has earned the difference, unless he stole it. If he stole it, prosecute him; if he earned it why should he be fined for that? You would have the same opportunity to earn as much if land values were

taxed so as to make vacant land free. Then, if you didn't care to be as rich as Jones, you would be at perfect liberty to amuse yourself while he worked, but you would have no cause to complain if you were charged the same for the land value appropriated by you as he was for what he appropriated. "The equity would come in" in the principle of taxing a man for the common values he appropriated, and securing to his own use whatever he produced.

New Application of a Thief's Metaphor.

NEW YORK.—I do not find in any of Henry George's works, which I have carefully read, any reason or explanation of the fact that in the sea, where the land question is not agitated, the big fishes eat the little ones every time, the same as on the land. It seems to be an immutable law of animal nature.

LARD LUBBER.

The big fishes on land do not eat the little ones quite the same as in the sea. Even in those parts of the world where cannibalism still flourishes the big fishes cook the little ones before eating them. That is in itself an advance beyond the civilization of the seas, for there the little fishes are bolted raw. In the rest of the world civilization has wiped out physical cannibalism entirely, which is a still further advance. And the time will come when social cannibalism will disappear, too; but it must be preceded by laws that secure to every man his natural inheritance.

Your metaphor is not original. It was invented by a footpad to excuse his robbery of a widow.

Notes.

PROGRESS.—The newspaper clipping from a Newburg paper signed "Laborer," to which you call our attention, contains so many misstatements and is so comprehensive in its ignorance that we cannot spare space for a reply. Evidently the writer is not what is commonly known as a laborer; if he were, he would be better informed on some at least of the elements of political economy. If his objections seem to you likely to mislead, we shall be glad to answer any that you will put in your own language.

THE NEW YORK LETTER CARRIERS.

A Day's Work Described by One of Them—A Substitute's Earnings.

NEW YORK.—The substitute letter carrier who wrote you a description of his experience, told what was correct in every particular. What can we say of a government which permits such a state of affairs to exist? What of the government that limits the amount a substitute can earn by carrying these "special delivery letters" to \$30 a month. If he should carry one month only \$10 worth (at 5 cents apiece), he must do the best he can to make both ends meet; but if on the following month he should carry \$40 or \$50 worth, instead of receiving the above amount he has earned by his labor, the government confiscates every cent over \$30.

Previous to being assigned as a regular carrier, he must pay \$1 to a postoffice official (who is already drawing a large salary from the government) to be sworn in, notwithstanding the fact that he has paid the affidavit fee previous to being appointed a substitute. After being made a "regular" (if he should be given a carrying route) he will work as follows: Early day—report 6 a. m. get mail set out and leave on first trip at 7:30, taking a very small portion of the entire route to enable him to get back in time to leave again at 9:30 on his second trip; gets in on his second trip about 11:30. If there should be a letter with a "special delivery" stamp on it, and no substitutes available to deliver it, he is sent out with it, for which service he receives nothing, except threats and abuse should he remonstrate. If there should be nothing of this kind, then he can go to his dinner. He must be back by 12:45 to get his mail ready for his 1:30 trip, at which time he leaves the office, getting back about 3:45. He will then set out and get ready for his 4:30 trip, leaving at that time and getting back about 6:30. If he has any letters then that he has failed to deliver on account of mistakes in directing, etc., he must look in the directory, and if the correct addresses are found must forward them, or if not he must enter them in a book provided for that purpose. Then if there is nothing else to do he may go home. The following day is his late day. He will work as follows (with variations in the way of extra work as mentioned previously): Reports at 6 a. m.; leaves at 7:30, taking the main portion of the route, getting back at 11; gets mail ready and leaves at 11:30, returning about 1:30 p. m.; goes to dinner, getting back at 2:45; sets up his mail and leaves at 3:30; gets back about 5:30; sets up his mail and leaves on his last trip at 6:30, returning all the way from 8:30 to 12:30 p. m. Now, how can the government consistently appoint arbitration boards and committees to inquire into the business of corporations and capitalists, looking to the amelioration of the wage worker, and at the same time work its own employees like slaves and refuse to investigate their wrongs? How can it expect corporations to make concessions to their employees in the face of such an example? Why does not the government begin at home and show by the way it treats its employees (who, by the way, are neither workmen, mechanics or laborers) how it expects corporations, etc., to treat theirs. Verily it is, "Do as I say and not as I do."

God help the wage worker whose employer takes the government for a guide.

THE STANDARD has filled a long felt want. It is a medium through which the oppressed and down-trodden may make their condition and wrongs public. It is also the educator of the masses. I believe I only echo the sentiments of each and every reader when I wish THE STANDARD long life and great success.

A LETTER CARRIER.

The President of the Boston Central Labor Union on the True Platform.

John Swinton lectured in Faneuil hall, Boston, last week, to a large audience, and made one of his striking speeches. In introducing him, Daniel H. Biggs, president of the Central Labor union, declared himself in favor of putting all taxes on land values, and alluded thus ironically to those who declare that to do this would be to relieve the rich from taxation and to increase the burdens of the workmen and the farmer:

"There is a class of corporations that say they are taxed to death. But when the people say 'let us abolish all taxes except on land values,' they all oppose it with might and main. To-night we say to them: 'We are going to relieve you of this burden, or a part of it, at least, by taking to us of your personal property and improvements and putting them on the value of land. But instead of thanking us, these rich men who say we are going to exempt the rich, bitterly object. Why do these monopolies find fault when we wish to relieve them (appliance of a part of their burden) why do they insist that we shall not help them? The truth is that they know that this measure will help those they say it would hurt. When they antagonize a measure we may be sure that it is one which would benefit the whole working part of this country.'"

A Dakota County Superintendent of Schools Tells us Thinking About It.

MADISON, Dak., March 7.—During the year 1886 the revenue from customs amounted to \$192,905.23. This sum of money was advanced by the importers and added to the price of the goods. The consumer consequently paid both the original price and the duty. This is what we call indirect taxation.

Now I simply wish to show how indirect taxation operates, and what loss the people actually sustain by upholding such a system.

In the first place, it costs from \$6,000,000 to \$8,000,000 to collect this revenue; and, in the second place, it enhances the prices of the goods. It is this second part that I wish to make clear, as a great many do not have the faintest idea of what it amounts to.

The average duty on imported goods, according to Secretary Manning's report, is somewhat more than forty-six per cent.

Let us take a unit, one dollar's worth of imported goods, and suppose that it goes through the hands of three wholesale dealers and one retail dealer before it reaches the consumer, and that the profit on capital invested is ten per cent to each wholesale dealer and twenty-five per cent to the retailer. We shall then have the following progression of costs:

Value of the goods.....	\$1
Duty.....	.46
First cost.....	\$1.46
Profit, 25 per cent.....	.36
Second cost.....	\$1.82
Profit, 10 per cent.....	.18
Third cost.....	\$2.00
Profit, 10 per cent.....	.20
Fourth cost.....	\$2.20
Profit, 25 per cent.....	.55
Cost to the consumer.....	\$2.75

Now, let us suppose this same dollar's worth of goods imported free of duty, and that it passes through the same number of hands at the same rate of profit to each, as in the former case. The progression of costs will then be as follows:

First cost.....	\$1
Profit, 10 per cent.....	.10
Second cost.....	\$1.10
Profit, 10 per cent.....	.11
Third cost.....	\$1.21
Profit, 10 per cent.....	.12
Fourth cost.....	\$1.33
Profit, 25 per cent.....	.33
Cost to the consumer.....	\$1.66

The difference between the two costs is, of course, 75 per cent, of which the government gets 46 cents, minus the cost of collecting it. The extra cost, however, is more than 30 cents above what goes into the treasury, and by examining the two examples we see that those 30 cents go to the different merchants who handle the goods, as a legitimate profit on the extra capital invested on account of the tariff. As far as the consumer is concerned, he might just as well have lost that much money on his way to town as to be beaten out of it by an indirect method of taxation. Of course the merchant, as such, does not care much whether there is a duty or not as long as he is in a position to charge a legitimate profit on the extra outlay and to transfer the whole burden to somebody else. But how are the farmers and the day laborers to transfer it?

Why do we uphold such a system of indirect taxation? If we must pay the 46 cents tax any way, why not pay it directly and at once before it has increased over sixty-seven per cent? Farmers and day laborers complain of hard times. But are they not needlessly making beasts of burden of themselves? This 30 cents' waste is on one single dollar's worth! And as forty-six per cent is an average duty, so is 30 cents' loss to the consumer only an average loss. On the common necessities of life, which the farmer and day laborer need, the duty is much higher and the loss greater; while on luxuries and costly goods the duty is much lower and the loss smaller.</

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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THE STANDARD is forwarded to subscribers by the early morning mails each Friday. Subscribers who do not receive the paper promptly will confer a favor by communicating with the publisher.

ECCLESIASTICISM AND POLITICS.

An interesting document has been added to the literature called forth by the attempt to crush Dr. McGlynn, in the secret circular of the bishop of Prince Edward's Island against the *Catholic Herald*, which we print in another column, in which, without any equivocation, he denounces the doctrine that the church cannot command the political action of the faithful.

The same slavish and anti-American doctrine is avowed in the address which the German clergy have been coerced into signing, and which was published in THE STANDARD of last week, and is involved in the address which the English-speaking clergy are now being forced to sign, which is to be presented to the archbishop on Wednesday next. It is, in fact, the vital issue in the whole case.

All the reiterated assertions that Dr. McGlynn has disobeyed his archbishop and has avowed doctrines contrary to those of his church have, as a basis of fact, simply this, that in his political action as a man and a citizen, Dr. McGlynn has refused to be governed by the wishes of his archbishop. No other act of his, favoring in the slightest of disobedience, can be pointed to, while as for the pretense that there is anything in the doctrines he has avowed contrary to the teachings of the church, that has been denied not merely by such prelates as Bishop Nulty, Cardinal Manning and Bishops Keane and Ireland, but even through Cardinal Gibbons by the pope himself.

Archbishop Corrigan, who, as bishop of Newark, presumed by a secret circular to instruct Catholic citizens how they should vote, represents that wing of Catholics who are determined to make the church in this country a political machine, while what Dr. McGlynn stands for is the political independence of clergy and laity.

Dr. McGlynn has long been looked upon askance by that small section of the Catholic clergy of New York who pride themselves on being more papal than the pope and more orthodox than the church itself—that section which is at heart opposed to freedom and progress, and has always regarded an alliance with a corrupt political party as the means whereby they were to obtain the virtual establishment of a state church by filling public offices by men they could control and obtaining appropriations for parochial schools and religious institutions. This wing found its best journalistic representation in a blackguard sheet called the *Freeman's Journal*, long conducted by the notorious McCloskey, and now in charge of one of his apt pupils.

In the early days of his pastorate Dr. McGlynn incurred the bitter hostility of this wing—with whom the present Archbishop Corrigan, at that time a teacher in Seton hall college, New Jersey, was even then known to sympathize—as being one of a number of priests who, instead of intriguing to conform the church in the United States to the ideal begotten of European despotism, aspired to bring it into harmony with American ideas and American institutions. These liberal minded priests, of whom the venerated Father Farrell of St. Joseph's church was the central figure, comprised such men as Father Malone of Brooklyn, Father Thomas McLaughlin of New Rochelle, Rev. Dr. Birdsell, now pastor of the Church of the Epiphany, and Father James Nihand, now of Poughkeepsie. They were intense haters of slavery when the retrograde clique were apologists of the peculiar institution; they were ardent supporters of the union cause when the reactionaries were sympathizing with those who plotted its destruction; they were in favor of the American system of public schools when their opponents were abusing the public schools, often in the vilest language, and were striving every nerve to force upon Catholics a system of parochial schools; they were scandalized by the robbery and jobbery of the municipal government of New York while the ultra-orthodox were in actual offensive and defensive alliance with the Tweed ring, the party of the one part agreeing to support the Tammany candidates, and actually doing so, even from the altar, while the party of the second part agreed to see, whether by fair or foul means, that large appropriations of public money were secured for Catholic institutions. They were even more than suspected of sympathizing with the aspiration of Italian patriots for the unification of their country and of looking on the temporal power of the pope as an injury and impediment to the spiritual mission of the church.

They were, in fact, ardent, earnest men, who believed that Catholicism had in it

nothing inconsistent with the truest and fullest liberty.

It was Father Malone who, when the flag of the Union was fired on at Sumter, scandalized the ultra-orthodox by flinging it to the breeze from the spire of his church; it was Father Farrell who brought from Richmond the remains of his brother, who had lived and died a Catholic priest, and placed above them in Calvary cemetery a slab bearing an extract from one of his brother's letters, expressing his utter detestation of the crime of human slavery; and who in his will, of which he made Dr. McGlynn, Dr. Birdsell and Father McLaughlin executors, directed that his body should be laid beside that of his brother, and that on a similar slab over his own grave should be inscribed an exhortation to universal education as the necessary foundation of universal liberty. In this will Father Farrell expressed his sense of the wrongs that had been inflicted on the black race, and as showing his desire, as a white man and a Catholic, to do what he could in reparation of the injustice to which the blacks had been subjected, left \$5,000 to form the nucleus of a fund for the establishment in the city of New York of a church for colored people—a project which had always been frowned down by the reactionary wing. After Father Farrell's death this bequest was sneeringly alluded to by the late "Monsignor" Quinn as a waste of good money, and the clerical confidant of the archbishop who supplies inside information from the "palace" to the *Times* of this city has within a few days referred to this desire to do something for the colored people as "one of the hobbies of this liberal clique of priests," who are further accused of the heinous offense of wishing to have the Catholic service rendered in the English tongue to English speaking people instead of in the dead Latin.

After much opposition from the ultra-orthodox wing, in which the late "Monsignor" Quinn was especially active, a reluctant consent was finally obtained from the ecclesiastical authorities. Father Farrell so well understood the opposition his purpose would meet from the retrogrades that he annexed to his bequest a condition that if some step should not be taken to establish a colored church within three years after his death, the money should go to a protestant colored orphan asylum.

It was only within the last twenty-four hours of the allotted time that his executors were able to get ecclesiastical consent, and then, through the persistent energy of Dr. Birdsell, the bequest was so far added to as to enable the establishment of the Church of St. Benedict the Moor, Dr. Birdsell at first adding the duties of its pastorate to those of his charge of the Epiphany, and afterward resigning it into the hands of his principal assistant, Father Burke.

Farther Farrell came to have \$5,000 to leave in this way, not because he had improved his opportunities for money getting, for that is not characteristic of the school of Catholic priests to which he belonged, but because when, a few years before his death, he was suspended on account of liberal utterances in relation to the unification of Italy by the abolition of the temporal power of the pope, a few liberal Catholic laymen, who loved and admired the man, raised a fund for him, which they invested in bonds.

As a representative of the progressive American spirit among the clergy Dr. McGlynn was from an early period in his ministrations distrusted and hated by the retrogrades, and in their organs, such as the *Freeman's Journal*, was constantly abused and vilified in the most shameful way. In 1870 the first effort to degrade him was made, the occasion being the publication by the *Star* of an interview, which we reprint in another column, in which the pastor of St. Stephen's freely expressed his warm approval of the public schools, and his conviction that the establishment of parochial schools was utterly unnecessary. This was to the retrogrades, bent on obtaining priestly control of education, a species of high treason worse than heresy, and in the absence of Archbishop McCloskey, then at the Vatican council, the reactionaries, under the leadership of "My Lord" Preston, at that time chancellor of the diocese, obtained by the same tactics which have recently been resorted to in support of Archbishop Corrigan, the signatures of fifty-four parish priests of New York to a formal complaint against Dr. McGlynn—a complaint which Archbishop McCloskey, to the disgust of the reactionaries, had the good sense to put in his pocket, with the expression of a pious wish that differences of opinion should not be allowed to disturb the harmony of the diocese.

How Archbishop McCloskey's successor is bent on carrying out the rule-or-ruin policy, and reducing the priests of his diocese to mere political puppets recent occurrences show. Whether he will succeed or not time will determine.

LEGISLATIVE ANARCHY.

The conduct of the republicans in the legislature relative to the constitutional convention is anarchy in the worst sense of that much abused term. Whether the democrats would have acted differently had they been in the majority, is questionable; but it is due to them to say that they have at least made pretense of obedience to their oaths of office.

At the late election the people, by a decisive vote, pursuant to the organic law of the state, ordered a convention for revising the constitution. It thereupon became the duty of the legislature to provide promptly for the calling and sessions of such a convention, but this simple duty, though the legislature convened nearly four months ago, is still unperformed. Certain interests have all along been opposed to a constitutional revision. These interests trusted at first to the difficulties of getting out a vote on an abstract question, but, disappointed in that, are bending their energies to defeat

the convention in the legislature or make it a farce, in which they are encouraged and aided by the republican majority.

After long delay the assembly passed a bill that is plainly intended to defeat the popular will. It provides for an election of delegates at the regular fall election, when politics will be an excited state, and for the holding of the convention more than a year after it was ordered by the people; and is meant to excite democratic opposition whereby the measure may be defeated and the blame shifted to the democrats. The bill is so drawn as to secure a republican convention or none. Besides this, that public sentiment which is represented by the prohibitionists, and that which is represented by the labor party, are deliberately denied representation, except as they may be able to carry districts by a plurality vote. Here is a palpable evasion if not a defiance of law. It is a course of conduct which inevitably tends to discredit the law. If legislators may with impunity disregard the popular will formally expressed, who can complain if all law is spurred by what we are learning to call the "proletariat"? It is of the essence of law and order in a democratic community that all the people shall make the law and all the people shall obey it.

But whom the gods would destroy they first make mad. It needs only a few such instances to expose the hypocrisy of the society saviors' cry about disorder and anarchy, on which so many changes have been rung. It is not indifference to law to which they object, but interference with their profitable privileges. They do not hesitate to evade or defy the law if it conflicts with their selfish purposes and they can escape its penalties. But they cannot escape. It is, of course, impossible to punish them as vulgar law breakers are punished; but their Nemesis is near, nevertheless, and such disregard of the highest law, to which they are bound, not only as citizens, but also by their oaths, invites her to hasten. The working masses who have shown a disposition to submit even to oppressive laws demand the same obedience of law makers.

The way in which the people's order for a constitutional convention has been treated by the legislature and the party press cannot but promote the drift of democrats of both parties away from the aristocrats of both parties, and may, after all, better serve the interests of true democracy than a constitutional convention could.

THE *Leader* one day last week made a remarkable statement about the International boatmen's union, from which it appears that the 700 men composing that organization own their own boats, worth nearly two million dollars, and yet make but about \$1,000 a year. Here is a well defined case of the union of labor and capital in production unaided by any special privilege. And how does it result? Leaving wholly out of the question all forms of capital other than boats, and all risk and expense of replacement, and computing interest at savings bank rates, the boatman has less than \$900 for his year's labor. How liable this small sum is to depletion by fluctuations in business and loss of capital the boatman too well knows. THE *Leader* remarks that it is doubtful if there is for the money invested so little returned in any other business. But there it is mistaken. Two million dollars would not remain long in any business if there were other occupations which on the whole paid better. The truth is that the experience of the boatmen is the experience of all capitalists who unite their own labor with capital and have no peculiar privilege.

The old-fashioned bibliophile still survives in Canada, which, in religious prejudices of all sorts, is about a century behind the rest of the world, and a cute publisher has taken advantage of it to get up a lottery in which a brick house, a piano, and lots of smaller prizes are to be divided among those who correctly answer such questions as, When are the words "snow," "wind" and "rain" first mentioned in the Bible? This sort of gambling, which is an extension of the plan of giving children prizes for reading so many chapters, or committing so many verses to heart, seems to be tolerated from the notion that a sort of mechanical virtue attaches to the sacred books, so that "searching the scriptures," even for a brick house or a rolled gold watch, is an edifying exercise.

SIR ROBERT STOUT, the present premier of New Zealand, and who has been for years an ardent believer in equal rights to land, has announced that at the next session of the New Zealand parliament the government will introduce a bill "to prevent crown lands from becoming private property, and to provide that the state shall retain control of all land."

THE WASHINGTON POST SAYS:

No democrat can be nominated for president unless he is stoutly in favor of theoretical and ultimate free trade and incidental temporary protection through a tariff adjusted for revenue.

To which it may as well be added that no democrat can be elected unless he is in favor of free trade, absolute and immediate. If a protectionist must be elected, better the simon pure republican article than a fence-straddling, incidental, temporary protection democrat.

READERS OF THE STANDARD who are in earnest in the desire to propagate the principles of true economic reform, should lose no time in supplying themselves with a sufficient number of the tracts issued under the general title of the "Land and Labor Library" for distribution among their friends and correspondents. The good effect of these pithy little treatises is already noticeable, and a widespread demand has sprung up for them, even among those who are yet unconvinced of the necessity of the reforms they advocate. A full list of the tracts will be found in our advertising columns.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE.

Columbia college has just celebrated its centennial anniversary. A number of its undergraduates paraded in fantastic costumes, and several prominent citizens, to whose names the college has attached various initial letters, made speeches. The majority of New Yorkers, however, knew nothing of the event until they saw their newspapers the morning after, and the number who read these reports with any interest is insignificant. Yet Columbia is commonly regarded as the great seat of learning in the country's metropolis, and its continued existence for a century ought to be a matter of general public interest. The institution might in fact claim an existence of more than a century. In 1740 the legislature of this state displayed an old fashioned liberality by authorizing certain individuals to raise £2,250 by lottery for founding a college. The lottery appears to have been profitable to its conductors, for we find that by 1751 £3,444 had been raised, and two years afterward Dr. Samuel Johnson of Stratford, Conn., was elected president. It was called King's college, and in recognition of the compliment, perhaps, King George II granted the college its charter in 1754. Shortly afterward Trinity church presented to it a tract of land between Barclay and Murray streets and extending from Church street to North river. On this land the cornerstone of the college building was laid Aug. 23, 1756. This building had a cupola surmounted with an iron crown in honor of the king. The crown was saved off during the revolution and it is still preserved as a curiosity in the college library.

Dr. Myles Cooper, an English clergyman, succeeded Dr. Johnson as president in 1763, but his let was not an unqualified success. In the stormy days preceding the actual hostilities of the revolutionary war, Dr. Cooper strongly espoused the cause of the king and the other saviors of society of that day, and the result was that a mob of disorderly persons, usually spoken of in our history as patriots, started for the college one night bent on mischief, and the doctor, getting word of their approach, jumped the fence and made tracks for the North river. He was taken aboard an English gunboat, and ultimately sailed for England, never to set foot on the soil of the new republic. At the beginning of this excitement Alexander Hamilton was a student in the college, and without waiting to be graduated, he appeared on the hustings and espoused the cause of the people. For some years he was too busy with other things to attend to his studies, and so he had to get through what remained of his life, without the moral support of the diploma of the college. Despite this deprivation, he appears to have been very much of a man, and his friend, George Washington, who never even attended a college, did not allow the lack of a diploma to stand in the way of young Hamilton's promotion.

After Dr. Cooper ran away Dr. Moore took temporary charge of the college as president; but in May, 1776, his position became a sinecure through the conversion of the college into a military hospital. In 1784 the new state government placed the college under the control of the newly created regents of the university, but beyond fooling away some of its property the regents do not appear to have done anything for it, and in 1787 the old charter, with necessary alterations, was revived and the college resumed its course. This is the event that has just been celebrated. The outlines of the history of the institution thenceforward may be found in any cyclopedia or handbook, though many of the more interesting details of that history are not thus preserved.

The college has manifestly never had the benefit of the best business management. The lands given to it by Trinity church and the state have been unwisely leased or imprudently alienated, and it has only been during the past twenty-five or thirty years that the college has begun to enjoy the full income from what remains of its magnificent estate. Meanwhile the conditions of the grant created prejudices against the institution, while its supposed wealth made its friends lukewarm when it was really reduced to pecuniary straits.

The down-town property given to the college by Trinity church was granted with a proviso that the president of the institution should always be a man in full communion with the Church of England, and that the morning and evening services at the college chapel should be the liturgy of that church. The fact that the Dutch Reformed church, which is Presbyterian in its form of government, was the first established here, made New York, from the beginning, jealous of the English church, and this feeling became intensified as efforts were made by the aristocratic party in the later years of colonial existence, to secure the establishment of a state church here. As the prominent members of the communion sided with the king at the time of the revolution, this feeling was greatly embittered. It was owing to the fear that the scheme was in the interest of the English church that there was a delay of two years in getting the act authorizing the formation of the college through the colonial legislature, and it is owing to the conditions attached by Trinity to its gift of land that the impression that it is a sectarian school has clung to Columbia during its existence. It is but just to say that no discrimination is made against any other sect in its management, and that the history of its board of trustees is stained by but one act of religious intolerance, which was, by the way, a direct defiance of the charter of the institution. In this, however, members of various sects participated, and it was from a member of the Episcopal communion that there came a public and vigorous rebuke to the bigotry of the trustees.

Its land was at first unproductive, and the original buildings of the college were erected by the trustees on lands which they had bought in England and in this country. In 1802 certain lands near Ticonderoga and Crown Point were granted to the college by the legislature, but the formation of the state of Vermont invalidated this grant, as the lands mentioned were within the territory of the new state. This is made the subject of lamentation in more than one president's address. The state, however, gave the institution money from time to time, and in 1814 granted to it the land that now makes Columbia probably the richest educational institution in America.

In the earlier years of the present century Dr. Hosack was professor of botany at the college, and he established a botanical garden at a place called Elgin, just southwest of the present site of St. Patrick's cathedral on Fifth avenue. In the *American Register* for 1810 this garden is thus described:

"Dr. Hosack's botanical garden is distant three and a half miles from the city of New York, and consists of about twenty acres of land. The ground was purchased by Dr. Hosack in 1801 with a patriotic view of supplying his native city with what had long been a desideratum in a course of medical education, a botanical garden. At the time of the purchase the land was exceedingly rough and broken, but by its present possessor it has been brought to a state of the highest cultivation and embellishment."

It was announced that the doctor had offered this land to the state on liberal terms. By an act of legislature passed March 12, 1810, the commissioners of the land office were authorized to purchase the garden, the money for the purpose to be raised by lottery. The state reserved the right to sell the land at any future time. The preamble to this act declared that the medical society of New York and others were "deeply impressed with an

opinion that the botanic garden established and owned by David Hosack at a place called Elgin, near the said city, may become a public benefit by being applied to promote medical science in this state." This will be amusing to the physicians of to-day. This land was given to Columbia college by the state on condition that the institution should be moved to that neighborhood within twelve years, but in 1819 this proviso was rescinded, and the legislature granted the college \$10,000 in cash. For a long time this land was a burden rather than a source of revenue to the college. Soon after the election of President King in 1849 the trustees began to consider what they should do with the property, and they seriously thought of selling it. From a memorial addressed to the legislature it appears that they had offered to sell it in 1837 for \$18,000, but found no bidders. In 1850 they valued it at \$150,000.

Before anything definite was done in the matter of the Botanic garden property the act of bigotry by which it had been conferred, brought the college into notoriety and caused a widespread discussion of its affairs that finally resulted in a legislative investigation. In 1854 the self-perpetuating board of trustees appears to have had its dignity greatly ruffled by an earnest effort to give the alumni of the college the right to fill vacancies in the board. In that same year the chair of chemistry became vacant and Mr. Walcott Gibbs made formal application for the professorship. His application appears to have been endorsed by nearly every scientific man of prominence in the country, by a large number of the alumni, and by the entire press of the city. For some reason the trustees appeared disinclined to elect him, and it finally dropped out that the objection was that Mr. Gibbs was a Unitarian. There was a general protest against the bigotry and narrowness of the trustees, but they persisted in their defiance of public opinion, and refused to elect Mr. Gibbs. The late Samuel B. Ruggles wrote a pamphlet calling his fellow trustees to account, and to this a reply was made by another trustee, Gouverneur M. Ogden, who resented any outside interference in a matter that concerned the trustees only.

The result of the controversy was an investigation by the state senate in 1854, which ended in nothing. The committee declared that the individual trustees had evidently allowed considerations, forbidden by law, to affect their judgment, but that no act of the board, as such, had been discovered that would warrant the forfeiture of the charter of the corporation. The committee went out of its way to log in a particularly bald and monstrous reassertion of the doctrine underlying the false and dishonorable procedure of the United States senate in the Dartmouth college case. It did, however, do some service by bringing out facts as to the value of the property then held by the college. Its report estimated that the property, then worth \$3,000, given to the college by Trinity church in 1755, had by 1855 become worth \$1,000,000. Half of that property was, however, at that time occupied by the college, the remainder under lease yielding an annual income of \$19,494. The Botanic garden property, though then valued at \$400,000, yielded no revenue. The state had given the college, from time to time, sums amounting in the aggregate to \$50,000. The college was at that time \$77,500 in debt. For fifteen years its expenditures, aside from rents, taxes and improvements, had been about \$22,000 a year, \$9,000 of which had been collected from students. The college at that time held about \$1,000,000 of property that was yielding it no revenue.

This appears to have been a time when this wealthy institution was quite seriously considering questions of ways and means, and hence the curious collection of reports and pamphlets in the Astor library is a curious letter addressed to the trustees by a citizen in 1856. He urged them to purchase 1,000 acres of land in Westchester county at \$10 an acre, and showed them how they could get college buildings for nothing and make a fortune at the same time. The letter is a curious description of a deliberate plan for securing the unearned increment in land values. The writer proposed that of the 1,000 acres to be purchased the college should set aside 100 acres for its own use. The location of the college there would, he thought, secure the growth of a town around it, causing a large increase in the value of the 900 acres not needed for collegiate purposes. These 900 acres would cut up into 10,800 lots, twelve to the acre, each of which would command at village prices \$250, bringing in \$2,700,000. All of them need not be sold, however, for as soon as the town was started lots could be leased, thus assuring the college a steady income. His proposal, therefore, was that the land should be purchased for \$100,000 and that buildings worth \$700,000 should be erected. Meanwhile 300 acres, cut up into 3,600 lots, could be sold for \$900,000, thus meeting all expenses, including interest and cost of grading. The calculation is carefully worked out as to interest, etc., and is very plausible. It shows that at the end of seven years the college would, as the result of the transaction, own the following property:

College buildings at cost.....	\$100,000
College site, 100 acres at \$100.....	10,000
Six hundred acres upland, or 7,200 lots, at \$250.....	1,800,000
A total.....	\$1,900,000
Total.....	\$2,800,000

This would be the net result after paying back the \$150,000 originally borrowed, together with all interest and other charges. The author of the scheme proposed, by the selling price of lots in numerous villages in Westchester county, that \$250 was a fair average, and could he have made sure that the proposed town would grow up around the college, his calculation would have been an entirely safe one. He remarked in the course of the letter that of course the increase in values would in any event follow the growth of a town around the college, but he reminded the trustees that they could only secure that increase to the institution by buying the land in advance. Had the author felt as much interested in the public as he did in the college, he might have seen the advantage of securing such increase to the community, which would then have been able to build as many colleges as it might need.

This calculation is well worth the careful consideration of those who have never clearly comprehended the demand for the appropriation of land values to the benefit of the community. If there could have been any assurance that the proposed town would grow up around the college the estimate is a very moderate one. It applied, moreover, to a thousand acres of land. Manhattan island embraces 14,000 acres and the whole city 26,500 acres. Throughout this whole region such an increase of population has taken place, and on the island the increase is so great that few if any lots could now be found worth less than ten times \$250, while single lots on the Botanic garden property are held to-day at \$70,000, and lots of the same size down town sell for hundreds of thousands each. Let the reader study the figures given by "A Citizen," showing what would have followed the occupation of 1,000 acres by a town, and then try to imagine what has happened in the increase of values through the growth of New York over the 26,500 acres included in its territory. But this is not the only thought suggested by these figures. Suppose the trustees had believed that the proposed town could have been called into existence. They might then, as individuals, have bought the 1,000 acres, acquired the good reputation for benevolence by giving 100 acres to the college, building, erecting and the sale of the Botanic garden, all of the necessary buildings, and then have divided among themselves a property of \$2,500,000. That is just what has been done hundreds of times in this country by syndicates of individuals who used their power as railway

directors to encourage the growth of towns where it was to the interest of the syndicates that towns should grow.

The college did not go to Westchester county, however, and the growth in value of its city property exempts it from any necessity for openly engaging in land speculation. It became quite clear, by 1854, that the land on Fifth avenue was too valuable to be used as a site for the college buildings, and this was, of course, the true of the down-town land. The Deaf and Dumb institution was about to move to its new building at the corner of Fourth and Fifth avenues and Forty-ninth and Fiftieth streets. The legislature, in 1855, authorized Columbia college to purchase these lands, and it accordingly did purchase from private owners, into whose possession it had passed, the block now occupied by the college buildings, between Fourth and Madison avenues and Forty-ninth and Fiftieth streets, and the institution was moved to that site in 1857. The purchase price appears to have been about \$120,000. The purchase of the Botanic garden was sold to the Dutch Reformed church and others, and the down-town property was made available for business purposes by the opening of Park place through what had been the college grounds. The financial difficulties of the college were thus surmounted, and it was able to build handsome buildings for the school of mines and other departments. In 1856 the law department was established, and in 1860 the college of physicians and surgeons became the medical department of Columbia college. These two departments and the school of mines have been much more prosperous than the college proper, owing to the fact that they trained men directly for obtaining a livelihood.

The development of the institution in this direction has been the occasion for severe criticism. Dr. Edward L. Sears, in the *National Quarterly Review* for March, 1883, gave the college what a newspaper publisher would call a "magnificent puff," but in the same publication in September, 1876, he severely attacked the management. He declared that apart from the school of mines, which makes her the richest educational institution in America, Columbia's "manufactories of lawyers and physicians and surgeons" render her entirely independent of the trouble and drudgery of learning." Dr. Sears said he was impelled to his attack by the pressure of private correspondents' extracts, from whose letters he printed. One man wrote: "Although I am an alumnus of Columbia I am disgusted with its greed and its exactions. In my time this trafficking spirit was utterly unknown." Another wrote: "Is it the wealth of Columbia that offends your moral conscience? Is it hope or fear that keeps the press of New York so wonderfully reticent?"

Is its millstone or its baubles and tawdry trappings that possess the spell? Still another correspondent contemptuously alluded to the trustees as "a party of grandmothers who, under the pretense of managing Columbia college, oppress its vitals like a nightmare." This provoked an attack, Dr. Sears criticised the close connection of the management with local politics, and made fun of the titles attached to the names of professors in its catalogue. It cites that of "Charles F. Chandler, D.D., LL.D., LL.D., professor of analytical and physical chemistry and dean of the faculty of the school of mines and adjunct professor of chemistry in the school of medicine" as an example, and proposed to add to them "president of the board of health, head scientist of the Croton water department, analyzer in chief of meat extracts and broths, etc., honorary champion of metaline as the great lubricator of the age, etc., etc." We have here a broad hint at an abuse of professional reputation that has continued down to our own day.

However, Columbia has survived all criticism, and quite a number of its alumni have made it bestufts to found free scholarships, award prizes, etc. A school of political science has been established, and on June 8, 1883, the trustees ordered that a course of collegiate study equivalent to the course given to young men in the college should be offered to women. A school of library economy was also established in the same year. Thus in many ways Columbia shows an active and progressive spirit, but the fact remains that its rank among American colleges is far below that of other institutions less richly endowed and situated in smaller cities. The reason for this failure is a question that may be considered from many standpoints, but the fact remains, and no reasoning can either obscure it or make it palatable to those who take any pride in the metropolis. In the next number of THE STANDARD an effort will be made to show how far the possession and management of Columbia's landed estate is responsible for this failure, and to point out how vastly better results might have been achieved under a system that left the power to tax land values (now exercised by the trustees) in the hands of the people. Under a proper system New York might easily have had a university worthy of the city, where instruction might be free as air, and where professors should be teachers of truth and sound thinking to the thoughtfully inclined, receiving themselves wholesome correction of the tendency to dogmatism through the criticism of their effective criticism, which brings every theory to the practical test of its ability to promote the welfare and happiness of man.

The glory of such a college would be the influence it directly exerted in moulding public opinion, and though it might mark by diplomas the arrival at this or that stage of learning, its parchments would cease to be badges of class distinction or milestones marking an uphill journey to nowhere prescribed by tradition and sanctioned by usage. High scholarship would still be within its grasp. The future university of the people will lack no facility for making any man's thirst for knowledge, but it will concern itself with men and women, as well as with boys and girls, and lead the community that supports it in the acquisition of knowledge and the habit of thinking. Such a college Columbia may yet be, attracting to this city the young manhood of America, as Florence once drew to her seats of learning the flower of Europe's youth. In the new renaissance of applied science, when people shall at last enjoy the fruits of liberty and labor receive the benefit of our progress in civilization, and the arts, untrammelled, men will once more have leisure to indulge thought and fancy, and multitudes may eagerly gather for instruction in public places as the people gathered to listen to Socrates and to Plato in the groves of Athens, and "academy" re-acquire its original meaning.

Are the People of Pittsburgh the Richer or Poorer for it?

Pittsburgh, Pa., Chronicle-Telegraph.
Few people have any idea of how great the increase in value of real estate has been in our two cities in the past hundred years. The sale for the Irwin estate by Wm. A. Herron & Sons of the homestead on Irwin avenue, Allegheny, a tract of over two acres, to Mr. A. E. Foster for \$80,000 gives an opportunity to make a comparison of values now and in 1787. In the year last named, on the 9th of May, Capt. John Irwin bought twenty acres of land in Allegheny City at \$17.50 an acre, and ten acres at \$5 per acre. The homestead just sold was located in the first or larger tract, and as it embraced only about half an acre, those fond of figuring can cipher out the percentage of advance in the century.
The tract was located along what is now Bidwell street, and included the residence and property of Dr. D. Hostetter. Contemporary judges state that the bare land of this tract is now worth at least \$120,000, while the acre, or more, for the whole, while the seventeen acres are worth probably as much, if not more.

THE WEEK.

The action of the president in saving Guilford Miller's farm in Washington territory from the clutches of the Northern Pacific railroad company is in every way commendable, but its chief significance is the indication it gives of a disposition to interpret the laws in favor of the actual settler rather than in the interests of the great corporate land grabbers. Of course the president's declaration that "our public domain is our national wealth, the earnest of our growth and the heritage of our people," is logically followed by the transfer of that heritage to the hands of the people, but it is better that the land shall be in the hands of those who will use it than that it should be held by speculators who propose to profit by the pressure of population. Looked at from any standpoint other than that of the monopolists themselves, it is simply monstrous that thousands and perhaps millions of acres should be for years withheld from actual settlement on the mere dictum of a secretary of the interior, because perhaps a land-grabbing railroad company may have some claim to the land for its own use. If the present administration desires to offer any justification for the transfer of power from the republican to the democratic party it must make many more reversals of the policy of the past, and the interior department under Lamar should show a wide departure in sympathy and disposition from the interior department under Teller, the friend and ally of the land grabbing monopolists.

Land grabbing is no new thing in the United States, but the land grabbing of which we are accustomed to hear, and over which our newspapers moralize and express their wonder that men should be found wicked enough to do such things, is principally conducted at a distance. It has generally been supposed that the days of land grabbing within the limits of New York city were over, not by reason of any special vigilance in these parts, but simply because all the grabbing possible had been done generations ago. This, however, was a mistake.

Thirty or forty years since, while yet the owners of the upper part of Manhattan island were contemplating their fences and wondering how long it be before the growth of population would enable them to levy remunerative taxes on their fellow-men, a certain Mr. Carleton put up a shanty on 121st street near Third avenue. Mr. Carleton didn't bother about any titles; his shanty wasn't worth much anyhow, and he just put it up with a modest confidence, and he could keep possession of it long enough to pay him for his trouble; in short, he took his chances, and the chances turned in his favor, for no landlord showed himself and no rent bill was presented. Soon another gentleman appeared, desiring to erect a second shanty. Mr. Carleton, feeling that land without a landlord would disturb the universal fitness of things, demanded rent from the newcomer, and got it, too. Then a third man came, and a fourth, and a constant succession of men, until by degrees the entire block was occupied. And still Mr. Carleton collected his rent, and was very successful in his small buildings for his tenants' use, and generally acted the part of a landlord with a skill and diligence worthy of the Marquis of Lansdowne himself. From a humble blacksmith Mr. Carleton expanded into an imitation landed proprietor, and if he could have kept it up a few years longer would doubtless have founded the Carleton family and raised his descendants to a place among the aristocracy of New York.

But alas! one unlucky day some intermeddling official stumbled across the fact that Mr. Carleton's great city property, and Mr. Carleton's career as a tax gatherer, was brought to an ignominious close. His tenants have ceased to pay him rent; his various buildings are no longer his, and only the savings of past rent collections remain to comfort him.

Take it all in all, however, Mr. Carleton hasn't done so badly. If, on the one hand, he is less fortunate than those privileged New Yorkers whose land grabbing was done for them by their ancestors a century or so ago, he is, on the other hand, a great deal better off than the immense multitude who are now forbidden to do any land grabbing at all. Mr. Carleton will do well to contemplate his bank account, and rest contented.

Mr. Baker's proposed amendment to the constitution of this state recognizes an evil, but provides an altogether inadequate cure for it. The amendment confers authority upon the governor, under certain circumstances, to assign seven supreme court judges to act as associate justices of the court of appeals, with a view to the quicker dispatch of appeals. A very possible effect of such a measure could be a heavy increase in the number of appeals. What our judicial system needs is not tinkering, but radical reform.

The political tinker is already at work on the recently enacted tenement house law. The law provides that a small open space shall be left at the rear of each tenement. Senator Plunkitt's amendment removes this restriction in the case of corner lots, regardless of the fact that houses on next to corner lots will thus be deprived of a very considerable amount of light and air. In one way or another, here a little and there a little, the tenement house proprietor is pretty certain to regain the few privileges of which the present law deprives him.

Mr. Chamberlain Ivins, whose recent exposure of the pecuniary side of city politics attracted so much attention, has been giving his opinion about the relation of the democratic party to the "labor question." Mr. Ivins' statement of the case would be conclusive if it were not slightly incoherent. Beginning by expressing his delight at the discontent of wage workers with the "existing order of political affairs," he proceeds to demonstrate that the present state of things is really all that could reasonably be desired. "We are not," says Mr. Ivins, "staring any great social problem in the face. We are not distressed in this country by the land question. They are in Ireland, and a few miles from the land. The entire population of the world could stand on Manhattan island were it as broad as it is long, while the state of Texas is capable of producing supplies enough to feed the entire race."

In short, there really is nothing the matter with us, according to Mr. Ivins, except the assessment system in politics. The millennium will come when the state bears all the expenses of elections. There is a very general feeling of discontent which finds expression in outbreaks against private land monopoly and other feudalism of a few miles from the real reason for all that it costs \$80,000 to be chosen mayor of New York, and proportionately for other offices.

Mr. Ivins said these pretty things to the county democracy of the Fifteenth assembly district. He probably believes them himself, or he wouldn't have said them, but we take the liberty of doubting that the rank and file of the Fifteenth assembly district democrats have any very abiding faith in them.

There is trouble in Paulding county, O., and the governor of that state has ordered out the military to put the law into the hands of peace by means of Gatling guns. The enemies of public order in this case are not foreign anarchists, however, but American farmers. Near the town of Antwerp, in the county named, is a great reservoir, covering two thousand acres, which feeds a branch of the Walash and Erie canal system. A determined effort was made by the people at the

last session of the legislature to induce the state to abandon that part of the canal system. It failed, and there was much excitement among the people who think that the canal is useless and that the reservoir makes the water thereabout unhealthy. On Monday night of this week two hundred residents of the county captured the guards who had been stationed there to preserve the work. The mob then proceeded deliberately to blow up locks and a bulkhead with dynamite, and they worked all night with pick and spade in making way for the outflow of the water. There is some question, however, as to the spontaneity of this remarkable outbreak. It appears that the land covered by the reservoir was granted for the purpose by the general government, to which it would revert in case it is abandoned. An examination of the maps of Paulding county shows that the land at the bottom of the reservoir is covered by land warrants which have been gobbled up by speculators at merely nominal prices. A dispatch to the *Times* says that if the reservoir had been abandoned by the state "the land sharks would have had a bonanza." There is room at least for suspicion that these land sharks had quite as much to do with this outbreak as the people's hatred of mosquitoes and unhealthy water. The society become anarchists very quickly when the prize in view is 2,000 acres of the people's soil.

The city of Nashville, in the state of Tennessee, is going to improve its waterworks with a new reservoir, and it has been halting between two opinions as to where to put it. Curry's bill was first selected, and a full set of estimates made and almost voted on by the city council. Then some occult influence was exerted in favor of Kirkpatrick's bill, and that eminence was discovered to be, more than any other, suited for the purpose. Finally, common sense and good government, and civil service reform, and other virtues have triumphed, and Curry's bill has once more been chosen.

But now a new complication has arisen. The estimates originally made for the Curry's bill reservoir must be amended; the reservoir is going to cost some \$40,000 more than was originally intended. It isn't the wicked trades union or unscrupulous Knights of Labor that have done it this time. If they had, the Nashville press and other presses would probably have pointed out to them how wrong it was to take advantage of the Nashvilleans' need of pure water to extort money. It is simply that the "owner" of Curry's bill has raised his price. This is an altogether different matter, and the good people of Nashville are congratulating themselves on the growing wealth of their city. Nashville is \$40,000 richer to-day than she was a little while ago, and if the boom keeps up her prosperity will increase so marvelously that some of her citizens will have to move away, or go to live in the poor house.

The daily papers record a case of ejection in Newark, N. J., which, had it occurred in Ireland, would have called forth vigorous editorial denunciation. Mrs. Mary Friedman, a poor but hard working woman, who has a family of five children, got behindhand with her rent. A constable put her furniture in the street, and locked her out of the house. A driving rain storm came on, and the woman and her children sat weeping among their scanty household goods until a kind hearted baker took them in and gave them temporary shelter. A system that reduces a hard working woman to beggary, and then turns her and her babes into the street is defended in the name of morality and righteousness.

It does not appear that the Tories will have perfectly plain sailing in guiding the new election bill through the state legislature in committee. If the government's majority were composed exclusively of Tories the case might have been different, but the fact is that the liberal despisers who piece out the Tory party were once accustomed to think for themselves, and are not yet thoroughly drilled in obedience to the Tory leaders. Some of them have manifested a disposition to criticize certain details of the bill attributed to the rash young Zol-four, and the cabinet must either weaken its position by thus admitting the imperfection of its great measure or run the risk of alienating the great mass of the Tories who are under strong personal temptation to crawl back into the party that manifestly has the majority in their constituencies. The danger to the ministry is increased by the sharp criticism of Mr. Goschen's financial programme by two of the government's supporters, Lord Randolph Churchill and Sir John Lubbock. A successful attack on the budget is instantly fatal to an English ministry.

At an auction sale in Baltimore last week some fifty parcels of "ground rents," aggregating \$2,043, were sold for \$49,355. The sale was well attended, the bidding was lively and the prices realized were considered very satisfactory.

This system of "ground rents" is peculiar to Baltimore, and affords a profitable object-lesson for those who find a difficulty in realizing the fact that private ownership of land, as distinguished from private possession, is purely and simply the ownership of a privilege of levying taxes. The purchaser of a Baltimore "ground rent" doesn't buy any land. What he gets for his money is purely and simply the privilege of collecting a certain sum yearly from whomsoever may happen to be using a particular plot of land—without title to the franchise.

At the same sale the houses standing on three lots whose "ground rents" were included in the above sale, were disposed of. The houses sold for \$300 each. The "ground rents" of the three lots, amounting to \$20 a year on each lot, sold for \$640 each.

The Schneebles incident is the cloud like a man's hand rising upon the European horizon, and while it remains unsettled there is no security that the whole continent will not be plunged into war within a week or month. Will Germany give the man up? Will France acknowledge his detention just? These are the apparent questions; the real ones are, is Bismarck ready? and does Boulanger want war? If either of these deserve an affirmative answer, the struggle is at hand.

A New Magazine.

Dr. Robert A. Green of New York has begun the publication of a monthly magazine called *Home Knowledge*. It is intended to furnish the home circle with reading matter of a scientific cast, but free from those technicalities which make scientific magazines interesting only to the student. Among the principal contributions in the May number are a review of Henry George's theory of wages, the experience of a bold-hearted man, and a very interesting criticism, by Don Platt, of the life of Henry Ward Beecher. The price of the magazine is twenty cents a number, or \$2 a year.

A Bargain Explains.

The Athens *Banner-Watcher* publishes a letter from a burglar, who says:

"Perhaps you would like to know why there are so many burglars in the land, and I being one of that profession will enlighten you. Most of us are mechanics who are out of work and cannot get work to do. It is easy for the man who is doing well to talk and say the government is the cause of it, but when you try it and he will find he is mistaken. The enemies of public order in this case are not foreign anarchists, however, but American farmers. Near the town of Antwerp, in the county named, is a great reservoir, covering two thousand acres, which feeds a branch of the Walash and Erie canal system. A determined effort was made by the people at the

THE WEEK IN WALL STREET.

The long talk of lease of the Oregon railway and navigation company by the Union Pacific has at last been signed. This lease will give the Union Pacific a route of its own to the Pacific Coast at Portland, and will bring the lumber regions of the great north-west much nearer the timberless tracts of our southern and central sections. With the connection of the Central Pacific and the Oregon and California roads and the completion of the Northern Pacific to the Pacific coast, the far western and northwestern portions of the United States will have the skeleton of a railroad system that in time will serve to populate that comparatively youthful region. The filling up will come with future extensions of the great railroad systems, now stretching from the great lakes to the Rockies, notably the St. Paul and the Northern-western. Already Pacific coast extensions are talked of for these roads, and though it may be some years before they cross the Rockies, eventually, as population increases and all sorts of business interests expand, these roads will reach out to grasp their share of the resulting traffic. With these changes and extensions in the northwest come further extensions in the south and southwest. The Atchison is reported to be preparing to build to San Francisco on the western end and to Chicago on the eastern. Some 45,000 tons of steel rails were landed at San Francisco lately, said to be consigned to the Atchison road. The officials of the road, however, disclaim any intention of building to San Francisco at present, though they do not deny that they intend, as soon as possible, to reach Chicago. The present year will undoubtedly show the largest increase in railroad mileage yet secured, though nearly 9,000 miles were built in 1886.

Following the revival in trade and in anticipation of the extensive railroad buildings, real estate has throughout the country been in strong demand. Bradstreet's for last week cites twenty-three cities in which the real estate boom has been felt, and the reports given contain the reasons of the boom. Whether it be on the Atlantic coast, in the Ohio or Mississippi valley, along the lakes, in the northwest or on the great stretches of country between the Mississippi and the Rocky mountains, the causes given are invariably the industrial revival, increased population and anticipated extensions and buildings of railroads. In some cases land has in six months increased over a hundred per cent, while from twenty to sixty per cent increase is shown to be common. Bradstreet's likewise records dullness in some of our markets, less inquiry, lower prices, a tendency to inactivity and stagnation, etc. In the same issue it records a cause and an effect and fails to see the relation between the two, a relation so plain that he who runs may read it. The industrial revival brought the real estate boom, the real estate boom should be going into the pockets of manufacturers, merchants and other producers of goods into the hands of those whose energy and skill produce the wealth, of which money is but a measure—is going into the pockets of the real estate boomers and land speculators, going from the wage worker and storekeeper to the idlers and gamblers; and in such tremendous and disproportionate quantities as to perceptibly lessen the purchasing power of the multitude, weaken the markets of the farmer and manufacturer and throw on her knees again the already overburdened, overtaxed and rent-ridden American industry. As Bradstreet's does not see it, American industry does not understand it, the farmer is partially blindfolded, and the wage workers are just beginning to see the light; but the day is not far off when a real estate boom will be regarded with greater horror than a small-pox epidemic or a siege of cholera.

The maritime exchange is much exercised over the present low ocean freights, and, as usual, blames the railroads for not allowing the steamship lines a fair share of tolls on through business. Previous to the interstate law the rates were proportionately lower on the grain route from Chicago to Liverpool, and from Chicago to New York or Boston. But under the long and short haul clause the same rate must be charged from Chicago to New York or Boston whether the grain be for export or not. The Boston elevator men and the representatives of the steamship lines see in this clause a great hardship, hence their efforts to have it suspended and their complaints that the railroads have always taken the lion's share of the tolls. But it is already shown that the railroads, like the steamships, have been obliged to reduce their bargains. In 1885 the rate on wheat from Chicago to Liverpool was one cent and a half, while in 1886 it was only 0.77 of a cent, a reduction in twenty-one years of 2.18 cents per ton. The tonnage on these roads last year, in the same time, increased from 22,250,000 to 159,972,000 tons and the receipts from \$69,825,000 to \$144,582,000. Ocean freights have also been reduced and the tonnage has increased. But the tremendous increase in tonnage, whether on the land or on the water, does not account for the still greater reduction in rates and freights. Improved machinery and better engines have enabled the railroads and steamships to carry cheaper, but the increased cost of land, the heavy storage charges, the strangled markets, both at home and abroad, and the competition of India wheat have compelled both to carry lower for almost nothing, or not carry it at all. Rent is absorbing, in ever increasing quantity, the wages of the laborer and the earnings of the railroads and steamships, and the heavy elevator charges in our large cities are throwing into the hands of our competitors in the foreign markets of which we were once so proud.

The stock market is dull again and somewhat shaky. War rumors, London selling, the interstate law and reported idleness of cars on some of the railroads are used by the bears to depress prices; and though the bulls are in strong force and feel confident of a still higher level, there seems to be more incredulity abroad than there was a week ago. The splendid increase in the bank reserve has been accompanied with reports of dullness, and those that looked forward to a better market, under lower rates for money, are beginning to see that scarcity in the money market is one of the very best signs of commercial activity, and that idle railroad cars and poorer earnings go hand in hand with idle dollars and low rates of interest.

X. Y. Z.

What Can Their Average Wages Be?
The latest report of the Illinois bureau of labor statistics contains the result of an investigation as to the time in which labor is employed in that state. The figures are to the effect that only twenty per cent of the working men there are employed full time, and thirty-five per cent work less than half time. These comments are added: "Whatever value may be attached to the ultimate percentage of time lost, as deducted for all classes, the specific facts remain as to a great number of men and of occupations which may be applied at will to any deduction sought. No interpretation of them can obscure the important fact that out of 85,220 working men organized to promote their material interests, and presumably able to secure a greater share of them than the unorganized, only about one-fifth of them can obtain continuous work for a full year of working time. This would not be so serious were the remainder able to approximate full time; but this does not appear to be their experience. As the last table shows, those who get less than forty weeks' work are sixty-five per cent of the whole; and those who get only from thirteen to

thirty weeks' wages in the year are thirty-five per cent of the whole or 30,451 in number.

Values Increased One Hundred Fold.

A resident of Harlem has shown to a STANDARD reporter an instance of the increase of land values in that part of New York. The area bounded by 130th and 125th streets, Seventh avenue and Mount Morris avenue (which runs for half a dozen blocks midway between Fifth and Sixth avenues, and parallel with them), was years ago a racing park, the track measuring forty yards short of a mile. This land was sold in 1848 for \$40,000. In 1855 one of the Delmonicos bought the "block" lying between 120th and 121st streets, Mount Morris and Sixth avenues, for \$18,000. Three years later he sold it for \$15,000, its speculative value at that period, having been overestimated. Two months ago the same block was sold for \$425,000, the land having been lying vacant all these years. Builders are now at work erecting a row of brownstone houses on that part of the block facing 120th street. An adjoining block, a part of the estate of the late Mrs. Oswald Ottendorfer, was also lately sold at about the same figures. A syndicate of well-known business men bought it, and will build upon it. Those blocks of the original tract lying between Sixth and Seventh avenues, command even higher prices than those mentioned. A bit of land worth \$40,000 in 1845 is now worth about \$4,000,000.

What Does the Archbishop Do With His \$40,000?

PROVIDENCE, R. I., April 19.—Under the heading of "Justice to the Archbishop," I see that you say that his salary is \$40,000 a year. I would like to know whether he keeps that for his own use or whether he uses it for the support of schools, convents, churches, etc. Yours respectfully, A. R. LANGDON.

He gets it for his own use. The schools, convents, churches, etc., are supported by the contributions of the Catholic laity—mostly poor people.

All Should Study This Doctrine.

STREATOR, Ill., April 18.—I have read THE STANDARD from an early issue, and it suits me to a jot. I take a greater delight in reading it than any other paper, because it handles the land and labor question so ably. And when I am through with it I look it up to others. I have read some of our books, and am reading others. They have an untold value in them. GEORGE EDWARDS.

Where Franklin Caught the Lightning.

CAMDEN, N. J., April 22.—I am in full accord with the teachings of THE STANDARD, and I have taken special pleasure in reading the articles relating to the Reformed Dutch church in New York city, as I have known something of its history from my youth. J. ASPEN.

A Club in Louisville.

LOUISVILLE, Ky., April 20.—Mr. Wilkes, proprietor of the *Labor Record*, has started the ball rolling here. He is arranging for the organization of a Henry George club, and has called a meeting of the friends of the cause to commence them. A WORKER.

The True Programme.

Albany Independent Citizen.
We will make it hard for a man to own land which he does not use, by taxing the land value and letting the improvements go free. Therefore the owner improves, erects more buildings he erects, the more he plows and sows and reaps, the better the use he makes of his land, the less proportionately will be his taxes, and at the same time the more he works the more he gets for his work. Make it unprofitable for a man to own land in Albany unless he uses it, and how many many bricklayers, carpenters, day laborers—how many architects, builders and dollars would be working on the space of ground lying between Hudson avenue and Lancaster street, above Swan?

With the increased demand for workmen, there would of course come an increase in wages, a greater surplus of profits, and consequently lower rents, while that which now goes to pay the rent, based upon speculative land values, would be used to purchase better food for mind and body, better clothes and better homes.

All men, so far as they are laborers, would be benefited by this method of taxation. It would be a just measure, too, for it exempts a man from taxation on whatever he does that is of use or benefit to the community, and for whatever he does that is a drag upon its progress, whatever he receives that he did not earn, for all dog-in-the-manger policy, he is taxed.

A Land Owner Who Can Figure.

Judge James G. Maguire of San Francisco.

I am myself an occupying owner of a very comfortable home; if the taxes on my land were doubled, improved, furniture, library, etc., being exempt, I would still pay much less tribute to the government than I now pay; therefore the man who owns the land, and the adjoining mine would pay twice as much tribute upon those lots as is now taxed against him, and he would be compelled to either improve them, and assist in building up our neighborhood, or sell them to people who would.

The rental value of my land would decrease by reason of the increase in the supply of houses and consequent increase in competition for the land would make it a more desirable home.

The activity and prosperity thus promoted and accomplished would distribute itself through every branch of industry, through every artery of social life, and would vastly promote the general happiness of every community affected by the principle.

Land Values in California.

The San Francisco *Bulletin* says the following illustration of the land speculation in Los Angeles county is authentic in every way, and again places the land question in a new light. In Pasadena for \$40 per acre. A portion was set out with orange trees. The first sale of land from the tract was at the rate of \$1000 per acre for five acres, this occurring about 1840. About 1845 the same tract was sold for \$12,000. On February 12 last there remained in the tract thirty-three acres, for which an offer of \$100,000 was made. The lady would not sell at this figure. Last week she was offered \$250,000 for the thirty-three acres, or over \$7,500 per acre. She again refused to sell. The tract is on a hill overlooking the town of Pasadena, and commands a handsome view. It is wanted for residence sites.

Landlordism Is Landlordism.

London Democrat.

The national cause in Ireland is supported, to a large extent, by remittances from America, but perhaps ten times as much is sent from the states, and is used to support the cause of landlordism as finds its way to the national league. Our American brethren should discover some plan of campaign which will enable them to assist their relatives without supporting Irish landlordism. In Ulster, where there is no plan of campaign, and, therefore, no protection for the people, men have pawned their wives' and children's clothes to raise the rent. Aye, and if rent could only be raised by the sale of their souls landlords would still demand it.

A Tremendous Aggregation.

Albany Times.
It must be remembered that the labor party of to-day is not limited to the ancient definition. It is not solely a combination of manual laborers. It is rather a tremendous aggregation of all the forces of the republic that live by the sweat of their brows, and that are engaged in the production of wealth. It comprises within its folds the bright young men who form the alert figures in our business world, the journalists, clerks, clergy-men, artists, professors, teachers, as well as the laboring men who pick and shovel, and the brawny heaver of coal or handler of freight. The bright intellects of the day are becoming less attached to the old parties, and are flocking to the new order of things.

CALLOW STATESMEN.

The Debate on the Necessity for a Distinct Labor Party.

TUESDAY EVENING, April 26.—The Young Men's Christian association hall, Twenty-third street and Fourth avenue, was well filled by an audience assembled to listen to a much advertised "debate" by the Lyceum society of Philadelphia and the Y. M. C. A. literary society of this city. The subject to be discussed, and which drew the audience into the hall, was, "Would the existence of a distinctive labor party be of benefit to the country?" The Philadelphia society's representatives—Messrs. John A. MacNamara, F. Norman Dixon and John D. McIlheny—were to try to show that it would; the New Yorkers—Messrs. William Wishusen, G. M. Cassatt and T. D. Kennesson—proposed to prove that it would not; and Justice Brady of the supreme court was to decide which of them had the best of the argument.

Mr. MacNamara made the opening address, speaking in the affirmative. In a sometimes faded, but generally vague, sort of way he pointed out the necessity for the new party. Finding, before he had said twenty words, that the sympathies of the audience were with him, he uttered upon a declamation which, while it was loudly applauded, contained nothing of an argumentative character. Mr. Wishusen followed in the negative, and, although he felt the opposition of the audience more than once, bravely filled out his time and retired amid the mingled applause and hisses of the listeners. At this the chairman of the meeting stepped to the front of the stage and, after appealing to the feelings of those present, told the audience that order must and would be maintained. Both sides had a right to be heard and they would be heard. He then introduced Mr. Nixon (full name), that gentleman very foolishly commenced by saying that he would stand by the words and sentiments he expressed from that platform "forever." He slammed and banged around for a while, and after making the assertion that the whole mission of and necessity for the labor party was to check the corrupt effects of railroad monopoly and the bribery of the judiciary—which it isn't—he sat down.

Mr. Cassatt (negative) then went to the rostrum. The gentleman has a good voice and fine delivery, and though his argument was weak, he accompanied it with such classic gestures and fine drawn phrases that he seemed to have received as much applause as his predecessor.

The last speaker for the affirmative was Mr. McIlheny, a weak-voiced, thin, awkward young man, and who, beyond complimenting T. V. Powderly, grand master workman of the Knights of Labor, for the speech in which he said that he was glad the labor party had been defeated in Chicago, and that the socialists, anarchists and so forth must be crushed out, said nothing that interested the audience. The only strong point about the gentleman's address was that he did not consume all the time allowed to him.

The position of the argument up to this time was this: The affirmative favored the existence of a distinctive labor party, but were unable to give any good reasons. Their arguments were purely superficial, rhetorical and declamatory, their aim evidently being to exhibit oratorical power rather than familiarity with the politico-economic question under discussion. They evidently did not have the faintest idea why the present great political labor movement had come into being. The gentlemen speaking in the negative, while asserting that the other side had no good reason for their position, which was true—still hinted darkly at what the united labor party wanted—the land—and insinuated broadly that hidden behind the beneficent spoken intentions of the new party was the unspoken and unwritten intention to gobble up all the property of the rich people of the country, and divide it among those who had nothing. Of course this is untrue, but the affirmative side did not contradict it, so it stood.

The last speaker, and the speaker of the evening, was Mr. Kennesson, a fluent talker and a good debater. He was on his feet for the greater part of the evening. He began by saying that he would not stand by his argument "forever," unless time should prove that he was right. He would follow whither the light led him. He was ready to be converted to the idea that a labor party was necessary, but nothing had been said from that platform that evening which would convert him just yet. He regarded the appearance of Henry George upon the field at this time as the greatest blessing that had been bestowed upon the laboring people of this age. Mr. George was a great thinker, and one in whom most men, in opinion, though they might differ from him in opinion. The speaker had skimmed over one or two of Mr. George's books, but, as yet, had not read them closely. "I shall begin to read them carefully; I shall learn for myself what Mr. George's idea is; I shall examine closely; and if what Mr. George proposes to do is for the benefit of humanity, I shall fall into the ranks of his friends and fight for the accomplishment of their desires." [Tremendous cheering.] We have not learned to-night what the desires of the men of the new party are; and certainly nothing has been said that would make us think of favoring the proposition before us. The democratic party is in the beginning a labor party. The laboring people stood by it, and it had control of the government for over sixty years. Then came the republican party, and in the beginning it was the labor party—it could never have succeeded in getting into power but for the votes of the laboring people. After controlling the government for twenty-five years—"I am a republican," said the speaker—"during which time it grew rich and respectable," the laboring party was ousted, and the republican party was put in its place. "If the republican party," said Mr. Kennesson, "wishes to be restored to power again, it must again become the laboring man's party—that is, it must look out for the interests of the common people, if you will allow the term. Now, these two parties have all the necessary machinery to carry on the political work of this country. What the laboring man must do is, get control of this machinery; and the thing is done. If you offer the propositions that embody your highest aspirations, and these parties refuse to accept them, then will be time enough to think of bringing into existence a new party. When I am convinced that the two existing political organizations refuse to try to better the condition of laboring men—which includes more than those who work with their hands—then I will be ready to take a part in a new political movement; but I am satisfied that before the third party movement can succeed, one of the other parties must die. But I submit, Mr. Referee, that the other side has given us no good reason why the existence of a distinctive labor party would be of benefit to this country."

And the referee agreed with him. Dr. Charles P. McCarthy will review in detail the discussion reported above, Sunday evening at 8 o'clock at Arcanum hall, 54 Union square, and he takes this method of inviting Mr. Kennesson to attend, not knowing how to address him personally. The doctor promises to furnish Mr. Kennesson on this subject with more information than he could give at Mr. McCarthy's meetings are held every Sunday evening, and are for instruction on the labor question and for the dissemination of the principles upon which the united labor party has been founded.

Dr. McIlheny in Philadelphia.

Dr. McIlheny will deliver a lecture at the Academy of Music, Philadelphia, on Wednesday, May 4, under the auspices of the Henry George club of that city.

THE BIBLE WAR IN 1870.

The Catholic View of the School Question As Expressed by the Rev. Dr. McGlynn, of St. Stephen's Church.

From the New York Sun, April 15, 1870. There seems to be a marked difference of opinion on the school question among the Roman Catholic clergy. The Rev. Father Preston's views, as expressed in a lecture delivered at Cooper institute, are not indorsed by the Rev. Dr. McGlynn and the other clergymen of St. Stephen's parish.

In a late conversation with a member of the *Sun* staff, the reverend doctor expressed himself emphatically on the subject. He said:

"I am opposed to Catholics making application for appropriations from the state for separate schools. I am sure Mr. Preston did not express the Catholic wish and sentiment on the subject. I assert that we do not wish to unite secular and religious education. Our public schools are the pride and glory of Americans, and should be made institutions where Christians and infidels, Jews and Gentiles may alike send their children to be educated, without any fear that they would be subjected to any religious or sectarian bias. An infidel, Jew or Mohammedan has the same rights in our government that you or I have; and the rights of all should be respected. The business of public education should be in the hands of seculars, and not entrusted to our religious orders. Let them confine themselves to their legitimate vocations, the active works of charity and education of the very poor. If they wish to devote themselves to education, let them have their select pay schools. Let them have Sunday schools, and devote themselves to the religious education of youth."

Much more to the same effect was said by Dr. McGlynn, but as he will in the course of a few weeks deliver a lecture at St. Stephen's church we will not give his views further publicity, but permit him to speak for himself. He is considered one of the profoundest and ablest priests in New York.

An Irish Landlord's Testimony.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* publishes the following account of the experience of a trustee under the "plan of campaign" with Irish tenants:

"I am trustee for an Irish property. Six tenants demanded fifty per cent reduction; not in perpetuity, but during the season of depression. The agent refused, and threatened eviction. The tenants replied by threatening to adopt the 'plan of campaign,' and the rest of the tenants joined them. I was appealed to, and an interview with the agent was the result. The following conversation took place between me and the agent: 'How long have those six tenants had their holdings?' 'About twenty years.' 'What was the land worth when they took it?' 'Nothing; it was all bog.' 'What rent did you let it to them for?' 'Two shillings an acre.' 'And what is it let for now?' 'Twenty shillings.' 'Did the landlord do anything for the land?' 'No.' 'The tenants have done everything?' 'Yes.' 'And what would the value of the land be to the agent if he sold it?' 'The land would be worth at least a half million. This sum would have been easily realized if the sale had not been handicapped by the extraordinary terms and conditions imposed by the agent. As reported in the *Herald* the next day, 'The agent offered the houses for only \$415,000, owing to the circumstances now well known to everybody in the market, and when general surprise was expressed that this property brought so little, there was but a single person on the floor who astomishingly looked at the growlers and readily silenced them. He said: 'Gentlemen, I was present not quite forty years ago when that identical land was sold in all for \$25,000. Of course,' he continued, 'the buyer erected the houses thereon, but he did not cost him \$100,000. I don't see that you have any reason to complain about such valuations at a sale under the 'subsidized,' and the 'subsidized' New York property increases after all more rapidly in value than a man's number of years.'

Somebody has Gained \$300,000—Who?

London Herald.

Barring the ideas of a few cranks, it was generally agreed on the exchange that the value of the land and the houses on Fifth avenue near Fifty eighth street ought to be considered worth at least a half million. This sum would have been easily realized if the sale had not been handicapped by the extraordinary terms and conditions imposed by the agent. As reported in the *Herald* the next day, 'The agent offered the houses for only \$415,000, owing to the circumstances now well known to everybody in the market, and when general surprise was expressed that this property brought so little, there was but a single person on the floor who astomishingly looked at the growlers and readily silenced them. He said: 'Gentlemen, I was present not quite forty years ago when that identical land was sold in all for \$25,000. Of course,' he continued, 'the buyer erected the houses thereon, but he did not cost him \$100,000. I don't see that you have any reason to complain about such valuations at a sale under the 'subsidized,' and the 'subsidized' New York property increases after all more rapidly in value than a man's number of years.'

Developing Mexico's Resources.—But Not for Mexico's Benefit.

New York Tribune.

The March of Man.

Let us sing the Hymn of Progress!
 The Hymn of the March of Man;
 Let the song ring clear from the van to the rear
 And resound from the rear to the van.
 Let its cadence and our legions
 Keep step with the tramp of Time,
 As long though the goal sublime
 We charge to the goal sublime.
 Then forward! O battalions!
 Invincible in our might,
 Invincible in our purpose,
 Invincible in our right!

Our ranks as a flood of the mountain,
 Our front as a living wall,
 And the foot of a man shall fall
 As the foot of a man shall fall.
 While onward, onward, onward,
 To the swing of our marching song—
 Right onward, onward, onward,
 We sweep to the goal along.
 Then forward! O battalions!
 Invincible in our might,
 Invincible in our purpose,
 Invincible in our right!

From victory to victory,
 From the won to the still to win,
 From the old march victory crowned,
 From the new shall the new begin!
 And the foot of a man shall fall
 As the foot of a man shall fall.
 While lies the march of the world before,
 Then forward! O battalions!
 Invincible in our might,
 Invincible in our purpose,
 Invincible in our right!

Give voice to the Hymn of Progress!
 Let it ring from the rear to the van,
 To the swing of its measured rhythm,
 To the nation march as a man,
 From the van to the rear, from the rear to the van.
 Let it ring like a clarion's blast
 Till the kings of to-day on their seats of sway
 Hear the tramp of the marching past.
 Then forward! O battalions!
 Invincible in our might,
 Invincible in our purpose,
 Invincible in our right!

While onward, onward, onward,
 To the swing of our marching song—
 Right onward, onward, onward,
 We sweep to the goal along.

NOBODY'S DOG.

Not so fast, Jeremiah: can't you see by the bare ribs sticking out of that strange dog that he needs that bone more than you do? Look at the hungry expression on his countenance, and see him bow down to you as though he acknowledged your superiority and was hardly worthy himself to live in the same state with you. He is nobody's dog, and every hand seems to be raised against him. There are thousands of men, women and little children in a similar condition. Uncared for, unloved, and homeless in a land where there is room for millions more, they are forced by their poverty and the cruelty of the petted dogs of society to live a life of humiliation.

Perhaps you think he comes from an inferior family; but I could swear, judging by the cut of his nose, that he is half Alderney, part Chesterwhite and a little Plymouth Rock blood in his veins. And he is gentle, too. Poverty will inspire gentility in almost any dog. In this respect a dog is a little different from a man. It takes wealth to make man a gentleman. Man without wealth, though, is nowhere. Then let him lose family and friends, and how much better off is he than nobody's dog?

Bring one of the shallow-crowned pates from a European throne and send him traveling incog. through this land of the free and home of those who own the surface, without a cent in his royal pockets. He would get kicked out of the back doors of our brown stone fronts with as little compunction displayed as though he was a penniless youth who had come to ask the hand of a soap-mill owner's daughter.

Do you suppose, Jeremiah, any one would detect a royal wrinkle on his countenance? or recognize the Poland-China dialect in his grunt or see the Norman short-born blood displayed in his withers? Far from it, Jeremiah! He would make just as good a subject for nobody's dog as any other unfortunate beggar. He could lay in the fence corner with as much freedom dangle around him as a strange dog could expect, and watch the stars blinking overhead like weeping eyes in the countenance of heaven.

But if such things could happen, Jeremiah, and happen often, and very frequently plenty, and transpire at short intervals and often in the lives of royal scions, they would get a new idea of this world's religion.

They would often, often wonder how that blessed command, "Love one another," had dropped out of daily use. They would be shocked to see Christians so eager to get to heaven that they forget all about the misery of this world, and lay on their downy pillows and dream of the golden streets, while some of those whom they are commanded to love are lying in filthy hovels with hunger gnawing at their vitals like a mouse in a box-trap. I have been studying the Christian spirit in all its dealings with men, and I see that "love one another" has been rubbed out of all creeds, and "goose one another" has been put in to fill up the vacuum.

Christianity and tyranny cannot exist in the laws of any government. The presence of one is proof that the other is not there.

The religion of the New Testament is not practiced where there is human slavery. Where men can become nobody's dog and die of hunger and neglect, it is mockery to claim the protection of a kind providence. It is an insult thrown in the face of the Almighty to ask a blessing on your daily meals while your neighbor is suffering hunger and you have done nothing to relieve him from his distress. The religion of this world, Jeremiah, has been patched up and remodeled so often that, like the laboring man's trousers, very little of the original cloth remains to prove its originality.

Christianity has come down to a money basis, and the men who sell doves in the temple are as plenty as green flies around the margin of a collar boil on a pale dun mule. Your race, Jeremiah, has always been stigmatized as a quarrelsome, snarling, greedy set. How much better is man under the present system? Men situated like I am are growing at the hogsties of those who own the land, but if the land was turned over to us, and the system and laws governing land ownership was not altered, we would become as hogsties as anybody, and the growling and snarling would go on without taking time to breathe. If we can't live peaceably together, and share earth's blessings, how much are we elevated above your race? If those who own the earth expect those who have nothing to live on and be satisfied

with the condition of things, how much wiser are they than you are?

When you pitch on to this poor homeless dog and abuse him because you know he has no friends, it is similar to those instances where men grind down the laborer because they know he must bow to their commands or starve.

I don't want you to act this way any more. It should be our business to protect the weak and unfortunate, and help to improve this government till it becomes the brightest and happiest spot on earth. Every improvement we make to the condition of the poor man's life in this country has its influence in the governments across the ocean. Every law established to protect the weak and establish justice toward all our people pulls a stone from the royal thrones of European powers, and the happy condition of this country will indirectly cause the kingdoms and empires of the old world to crumble to dust, and republics will flourish on the ruins of oligarchy.

The time for improving this government cannot be put off much longer, or it will be forever too late. An aristocracy is growing up among us, and we are drifting toward the rule of other countries. High collars and soft hands are becoming a mark of distinction, and overalls and blistered palms are a mark of degradation, and the poor laborer who goes off in search of a job is kicked and abused by those who occupy high places in the church, and his condition is little better than nobody's dog.

I didn't intend to grow serious, Jeremiah, but wondering where the next sack of flour is to come from makes a man have inward feelings. FARAWAY MOSES.

THEN AND NOW.

The Sort of Encouragement Given in 1861 by the Saviors of Society to the Agitation Against Chattel Slavery.

On Sunday evening last the Rev. Charles P. McCarthy, in lower hall, 52 Union square, gave an account of his brief lecture tour among the coal mines of Mauch Chunk and Summit Hill. In course of his address he drew a parallel between the chattel slavery of the south and the present condition of industrial slavery, directing particular attention to the fact that when the old slavery was on the eve of destruction, and emancipation was at hand, abolition was denounced as a twin sister of free love by the saviors of society, and as a dream supported by cunning demagogues, whose evil teachings should be boldly and firmly confronted, not by the antagonism of doubtful and perishable weapons, but by "the word of God, which liveth and abideth forever," as expounded by a broad and faithful recognition of His moral and providential government over the world." Thus "these saviors" dogmatically asserted that God Himself was the "providential" author of the institution of negro slavery!

The reverend preacher produced the official pamphlet, from which he quoted the following sentiments, which he designated "the creed of the assured triumph of the 'freedom and labor party,'" and the title of which was the "American Society for Promoting National Unity," printed by John F. Trow, 50 Green street, New York, 1861. Mr. McCarthy quoted a long list of presidents, vice-presidents, honorary members and officers of the society, among whom were the following: Five ex-presidents of the United States; thirty-three bishops of the American Episcopal church, headed by the Right Rev. Horatio Potter, D.D., LL.D., N. Y.; a large number of Catholic bishops, headed by the late Archbishop Hughes, and a number of governors, judges, lawyers, merchants and millionaires of highest standing, as well as clergymen, scientists and politicians, including such names as S. F. B. Morse, Lewis Cass, Edward Everett, John A. Dix, J. R. Roosevelt, A. T. Stewart, Charles O'Connor, Erasmus Corning, August Belmont, Moses Taylor, W. B. Astor, James A. Bayard, John Kelly and even Peter Cooper. All these believed then in the delusion that God Almighty had designed slavery as the best earthly condition of the negro race.

"This curious combine," continued the preacher, "held a public meeting on March 6, 1861, in this city, and in their official statement, which I hold in my hand, gave most solemn acceptance to the following principles: 'Four millions of immortal beings, incapable of self-care and indisposed to industry and foresight, are providentially committed to the hands of our southern friends. This stupendous trust they cannot put from them if they would. Emancipation were it possible, would be rebellion against providence, and destruction to the colored race in our land. We at the north rid ourselves of no responsibility by assuming an attitude of hostility to slavery, and thus sundering the bonds of state fellowship; we only put it out of our power to do the good which both humanity and religion demand. Should we not rather recognize the providence of God in placing such a vast multitude of the degraded and dependent sons of Africa in this favored land; and cheerfully co-operate, with all needful labors and sacrifices, with His benevolent design to save, and not to destroy them? Under a providential dispensation, exacting of them due and needful labor, they can certainly be trained and nurtured, as many have been, for the services and joys of heaven; and if the climate and institutions of the south are such that our fellow citizens there can afford to take the onerous care of them in return for their services, should we not gladly consent . . .

In accordance with these sentiments the constitution of this society (Article II) declares that its object shall be to promote the union and welfare of our common country, by address, publications and all other suitable means adapted to elucidate and inculcate, in accordance with the word of God, the duties of American citizens, especially in relation to slavery."

The Land-Liga in Germany.

Concerning the formation of the German land league, which was mentioned in an early number of THE STANDARD, the following notes have been received:

The publication of "Progress and Poverty" gave occasion for the writing of several books and papers in Germany, among others a work by Mr. Flurscheim of Baden, "The Peasant Method and another by Mr. Max F. Schmidt of Berlin, "Starvation's End," (Der Noth Ende). The latter, coming out in 1885, gave to Mr. Martin Hildebrand of Berlin, the idea of founding a society for the promoting of land reform in Germany. But his efforts to gain Mr. Flurscheim and Mr. von Helldorf, another prominent land reformer, were without success, these men being desirous of joining the projected land party with the democratic party. The latter party refused this combination. Mr. Hildebrand, with Mr. Schmidt, then founded the "Land-Liga," on the fourth of July, 1886, Dr. A. Theodore Stamm of Weissenburg being chosen honorary president. The celebration of the first anniversary of the league will be held in Berlin on Pfingsten, and the views and strength of the leaguers will be made public at a large meeting. A strong fight will be made to win several seats in the next reichstag election in 1890.

Rev. Christian Everet Hale says that poverty can never be prevented; it must be relieved.

THE TERRIBLE FARM MORTGAGE.

State Senator Casper of Nebraska Tells How the Western Farmers are Becoming Bankrupt.

CHEYENNE, Wyo., April 4.—As showing to what extent western farmers are tied up with mortgages, I quote a passage from Senator Casper's recent argument before the Nebraska joint legislative committee on railroads:

"During the last twelve or fifteen years, like their co-laborers in all the western states, Nebraska have been making debts meet solely on the rise of their land (which they have liberally plastered over with mortgages) and now, when a universal collapse seems imminent, and when the bravest hearts tremble on the brink of uncertainty, the maximum of land values is now, or nearly reached, and the problems of what the future has in store for them in their old age is more and more intensified as the hurrying seasons come and go. To say that our lands have not furnished a living to those who toil and till them is not a cheerful confession, but I challenge any man to examine the records to be found in every county court house, and dispute the statement, in any county east of the 100th parallel, in the whole state of Nebraska, that the maximum of the mortgage records of this state will show a mortgage indebtedness of not less, if not far in excess, of \$100,000,000. This great financial porous plaster, which is so insidiously sapping the life blood of industry, is drawing away annually the sum of \$12,000,000 to \$15,000,000. Does any sane man think the people of Nebraska are contributing this vast sum for fun? When one of the victims of this recently devised section pump gets drained of the little accumulations of a lifetime, and is tossed upon the inhospitable shores of bankruptcy as a stranded wreck, we say, 'Poor fellow! It is too bad! Sorry for him; but his land remains.' Some other men with more means will buy the land in at sheriff or mortgage sale—spend his time and little surplus—(saved from the wreck of a farm in some state further east) in digging hard-earned dollars out of the ground to swell the already plethora of a Gould or a Vanderbilt, to share the fate of his unfortunate predecessor in a few subsequent years." A. G. GROUT.

Tax, Not Confiscation.

MOUNT VERNON, N. Y.—The *Christian Union* has fallen into a very common fallacy when it says:

"As we have repeatedly said, the question whether taxes shall be levied on all property or exclusively on real estate, is a question, not of money, but of expediency. But the position to inaugurate so radical a revolution without notice to those who have invested their all in land on the faith of the implied understanding that land is a proper subject for private ownership, and whose compensation to them would be an unjust and flagrant and public dishonesty, to which the American conscience will never give its consent."

Here the *Christian Union*, admitting the question of taxation of land values to be one of expediency, nevertheless claims "notice" to the taxed parties, and "compensation" for something undefined.

Compensation for what? Notice for what? When, in the previous history of taxation, was previous notice necessary to the validity of a tax? When has compensation ever been allowed to the payers of a tax, and out of what fund has it been paid?

If the *Christian Union* can answer these questions it will perform a task at present beyond the powers of political economists. The second sentence quoted from it embodies a fallacy so common in minds unaccustomed to radical ideas that it ought to be answered clearly by a return to first principles.

What are the objects of government and taxation, according to the "American conscience," or any other?

Governments exist for just one purpose—the protection of the people in "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Taxes are levied for just one purpose—to support the government.

In this country the only class of individuals who escape their proportionate share of the support of the government that protects them is that of land holders, who derive their support from ground rents.

The new party proposes hereafter to raise all taxes from these ground rents, to the exclusion of all other property, believing that they will afford sufficient money to support the state with the least possible burden to the community.

The *Christian Union* seems to think this is "confiscation of land." Not so. The land will remain in the hands at present holding it. But, says the *Christian Union*, you will "confiscate" the ground rent.

Not so, either. To assume the rightful owner of property which another has wrongfully converted to his own use, either through ignorance or intention, is not confiscation. Crude theories of government have permitted the management of these ground rents to fall into the hands of private parties, just as other taxes have fallen into the hands of "farmers of the revenue" in countries like France under the old regime.

Ground rent is a tax on others, not a subject of property, save in the state. A state can always resume a disused tax at its own pleasure, and the farmers of the revenue must rest satisfied with the profits of the past without compensation.

Egyt.

"Money Talks."

PHILADELPHIA, April 25.—"Money talks." How brutally and oppressively many of us know. Let it talk unselfishly for the "fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man." Much money, much talk; little money, little talk. Here is my check for nine dollars. But why nine dollars? And why should one who has a bank account ally himself with the "reckless crew" crying the "land for the people?" Some time ago I sent you anonymously \$3, and the remittance makes \$10 to touch my "limit" this year; and, for the second year, having read "Progress and Poverty" several times, it became a conviction that only through the remedies therein named could poverty be abolished. I am willing to assist, and have done some little work in the dissemination of the truth as shown by yourself, Dr. McGlynn, and your very able coadjutors of THE STANDARD.

Will you pardon a suggestion? The believers in the "land for the people" should have in some condensed form a plank to stand upon and vote, and it ought to be put at the head of THE STANDARD and there remain. How would this do? "We acknowledge the equal right of all in the bounties of nature, the land, the sea, the air, etc.; and to secure this equal right for toiling millions and abolish poverty, those who have exclusive possession of these bounties shall be taxed upon that part of their value conferred by the community. What the community gives it may take."

Another. It is important in some way to discountenance the communistic view of property.

Have THE STANDARD say in every issue: "What a man gains by labor, in any form, that he shall have against all the world; but the possession of these gains shall not permit him to take toll of his brethren by buying up their equal rights in the land."

Both the foregoing are crudely and inadequately phrased, but you will know what is designed and how best to express it. Yours respectfully, H. C. L.

Sure Enough, Where Is It?

Louisville, Ky. Record.

Well, the Belgian glass polishers, imported to take the places of the strikers in Depaw's glass works, New Albany, have arrived, and more are now coming. Where's that law prohibiting the importation of foreign contract labor?

MAPPING CITIES.

How a Local Business Has Expanded into One of National Scope.

No student of real estate movements in New York can afford to neglect the admirable series of atlases issued by E. Robinson, at Nos. 82 and 84 Nassau street, (the old Low building). On these maps not only are all the occupied and unoccupied ground of the city indicated, but by a system of coloring it is shown whether the buildings are of stone, brick or frame.

The publication of these maps has grown into a great business, which overshadows the surveying and conveyancing with which Mr. Robinson started, and which he still continues. He has made similar atlases for Brooklyn, Chicago, New Orleans, Cincinnati and numerous other cities. It will surprise a New Yorker looking over the maps of western cities, to see how largely the color indicating wooden structures prevails. In New York this color is disappearing from the maps, though, strangely enough, patches of it appear here and there in maps of the most thickly populated districts, marking some old wooden building that has stood for many years, imperiling the lives of its inmates and the safety of surrounding property.

Mr. Robinson does not, however, confine his operations to city property. He has made a large number of county and town maps, and has a large force of surveyors engaged constantly in this work. The men who attempt to study the future growth of New York and its suburbs will have no difficulty in marking the growth or in calculating the increase in values.

Labor in Germany.

According to the report of Commercial Agent Smith of Mayence, strikes for higher wages, lesser hours and against reduction of wages have been frequent. The introduction of improved machinery, causing a reduction of molder's wages, started a strike involving nearly all the metal trades of Leipzig. Something in the nature of a "sympathetic strike" appears to have been projected and failed. Labor conditions in some cities are stated to be nearly unendurable. A strike took place in a linen spinning mill in the Breslau-Liegnitz district, having for its object the reduction of one-half hour in the working time per day. The operatives worked from half-past 5 a. m. to 7 p. m. per day, and struck for a change of the time from half-past 5 to 6 a. m. The strike was unsuccessful. The workmen consoling themselves, however, by the knowledge that they were better off in the matter of working time than in neighboring mills. In several districts distinct advances in wages are reported. Taking the German empire as a whole, while trade has been depressed and profits next to nothing, workmen's wages have remained unchanged. Wages are paid either weekly or fortnightly. Employers must give fourteen days' notice to their workmen before they can discharge them. A similar rule exists touching the workmen, who must notify their employers. The rule is said to work only one way. The employer, being responsible, is fined; the workman escapes punishment. Eleven to twelve hours is the average working day. The factory operative in the Berlin district works less hours than the hand worker or people employed in commercial pursuits.

Stilling Co-operative Competition.

The Pittsburgh *Labor Tribune* thus describes the experience of co-operators who sought to compete with a monopoly: "It will be remembered that during the millers' strike a few of the locked out millers started a co-operative mill factory at Steubenville, Ohio. The plant was successfully run double turn for a few months, the iron being purchased from an eastern firm. The new firm was refitted from every western firm, or the iron was held at a figure that put it beyond the reach of the new beginners. All connected with the enterprise were intelligent, capable and thoroughly practical workmen, such as are feared by large corporations, hence the desire and aim to strangle them in their infancy or 'starve them out.' As above stated, the plant ran successfully for several months, when, to the surprise of the owners, the firm east from whom they were buying mill plate raised the price to such an exorbitant figure as to make it impossible for them to buy it and put it into a mill at a profit. The result was the final closing down of the mill on Jan. 6, 1886. It was claimed that those firms who compose the Western mill association were instrumental in having the price of mill plate raised on the new concern. Since the plant shut down finally it has been offered for sale, but no one seemed to care to buy the property until last Monday, when the Jefferson mill company of Steubenville purchased the mill machines and shears for \$4,000, which is about one half of the original cost."

A Farmer Who Thinks.

BOSTON, Conn., April 21.—A writer in the *American Rural Home* quotes from the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* to the effect that of the improved farms in Nebraska and Kansas, from one-half to seven-eighths, according to the counties, are mortgaged, and that money at high interest is obtained on from forty to ninety per cent of the present value of the land. The writer says: "The farmer who considers that if the loan does not exceed in value what the land will sell for five years hence, it is a safe loan."

This is, indeed, farming under difficulties. In the first place, the land is given a fictitious value by speculation, and then, in order to get a little capital with which to work the land, the farmer must involve himself in debt. In most cases the land will not produce enough to feed and clothe him and his family and leave sufficient to pay principal and interest on his mortgage, and so he is ruined and goes to the city where he is there with no other resources. The farmer will not see their interest in killing speculation in land by lifting all taxation from capital and labor and putting it on land values. Every one of these ruined western farmers is a dissatisfied man, and he will clutch at a straw. He will, and he is fast finding out the truth.

No Work for Him.

Guth in Cincinnati Enquirer.

A bright-eyed boy was standing at the country station when I drove to it, and, supposing him to be the son of a neighbor, I spoke to him. After the train left this boy came to me and said: "I had a great mind to ask you to give me some work." He was a Virginia boy, with that undisturbed address the native Virginians all have. They are seldom timid before strangers. I now looked at the boy again, and observed his fine eyes, his manly bearing, and something altogether superior to him to the general son of common field laborers. Said I: "My son, where do you belong?"

"What brings you up this way in this cold March weather?"

"I came up here to get work. I hired out last winter to a man up here for \$6 a month. He got another man before I came without telling me, and he won't keep me."

"If you can do about anything on a farm, you can get work."

"No, I can't," said the boy, an American boy at that, of many generations. "I can't get any work now when I get home, because all the men down there that can be hired have already hired themselves out for this summer. The places are filled. I won't be able to get any work to do all summer."

"You don't tell me that there is not some work for you to do at \$4 a month?"

"No," said the boy, "I don't. I have been almost by the way in our country. Not half the able-bodied hands are employed, because there is not work enough. I shall go to a trade, however, now. I won't fool any more with the farmers after the way I have been treated."

PRACTICAL ILLUSTRATIONS.

Communities Where No One Pays Taxes and Everybody Has a Pension.

Prof. de Laveleye in Contemporary Review, April, 1885.

In the course of last summer, while in Switzerland and Baden, I visited several villages where each family is supplied from forests belonging to the commune with wood for building purposes and for fuel; also with pasture for their cattle and with a small plot of ground on which to grow potatoes, fruit and vegetables. In addition to this, the wages of all public servants are paid for from the communal revenue, so that there is no local taxation whatever.

I may mention, as an example, the township of Trendenstadt, at the foot of the Kniebis, in Baden. Not a single farthing of taxation has been paid since its foundation in 1557. The commune possesses about 5,000 acres of pine forest and meadow land, worth about \$10,000 sterling. The 1,420 inhabitants have each a small wood for their building purposes and firing as they wish for, and each one can send out to pasture, during the summer, his cattle, which he feeds during the winter months. The schools, church, thoroughfares and four-barrage are all well cared for, and every year considerable improvements are made. One hundred thousand marks were employed in 1883 for the establishment in the village of a distribution of water with iron pipes. A hospital has been built and a pavilion in the market place, where a band plays on fete days. Each year a distribution of the surplus revenue is made among the families and they each obtain from fifty to sixty marks, or shillings, and more still when an extraordinary quantity of timber has been sold. In 1882 80,000 marks were distributed among the 1,420 villagers. What a favored country, is it not?

Suppose that these woods and meadows and this land all belonged to a landed proprietor instead of to the commune, he would go and lavish the revenue in large capitals or in traveling. What an immense difference this would make to the inhabitants! To appreciate this it suffices merely to compare the condition of the Highland crofters, the free citizens of one of the richest countries of the world, and whose race has ever been laborious, with that of the population of these villages, hidden away in the Alpine valleys of Switzerland or in the corners of the Black Forest. If in the Highland villages of Scotland rentals had been as in these happy communes of Switzerland and Baden, partly reserved for the inhabitants and partly employed in objects of general utility, how very different would have been the lot of these poor people! Had they but been allowed to keep for themselves the sea weed and the help which the sea brings them, how far better off would they have been than they now are, as is admirably proved in Mr. Blackie's interesting book, "The Scottish Highlanders."

The English Cure-of-Souls Monopoly.

It must be a bad sort of monopoly indeed that won't find defenders. Here, for instance, is what the *Church Times*, one of the organs of the English established church, has to say about the way in which English church clergymen are appointed:

If, for instance, family livings are a source of scandal—as at times they undoubtedly are—they are also a source of untold benefit in many ways. They often enlist the interest of the patron in the welfare of the parish, to an extent of which persons outside have little idea. Indeed, the annual gifts of patrons and their friends, if they could be ascertained and added together, would bear no inconsiderable proportion to the net annual value of the ancient endowments of the country. The sale of next presentations is occasionally another grave evil, but it acts as a safety-valve, and delivers the church from many a "hard bargain" which she would have on her hands if such sales were forbidden; for many a young gentleman is thereby delivered from the temptation to take holy orders who, if he were feared, would otherwise enter the ministry to the detriment of religion. At the same time, the sons of many families of wealth outside the territorial aristocracy are attracted to holy orders and bring to the service of the church material and moral aid, which is often of no small importance. Other instances of the advantages of the present system might be mentioned.

This is something on a par with the oft quoted argument for land monopoly, that it benefits the poor, by creating a wealthy class who spend money freely and "make work" for their less fortunate fellow beings.

Too Many Popes.

Under this heading the *Catholic Examiner* of this week says there is a disposition on the part of many Catholics to elevate their own personal beliefs into a dogma of their own religion. To the serious danger of true religion and to the hindrance of church progress, however, there are many pious and devout men, and even a few prelates in the church, who have fallen into this error of placing their own opinions before the people as Catholic doctrine. There is no excuse for this. They know just what has been defined as Catholic truth and just what forms the body of Catholic tradition. They have no right whatever on account of personal preferences or feelings to exaggerate their own ideas into the importance of dogma and constitute themselves popes. We have too many popes in this country.

Everything new as being "un-Catholic" has been especially noticeable since the spread of the land and labor movement. Some clergymen have fallen into the error of denouncing the great uprising of the workers of the world. And little editors, taking their cue from them, not discerning between matters of faith and those of free discussion, go piping the same tune.

All the clergymen who went to hear what Dr. McGlynn had to say have been stigmatized as "Protestants" by the bigoted sheet ironically called the *New York Freeman's Journal*, whose only right to the title is the sarcasm arising from the fact that, during its long career, it has always been the consistent opponent of the cause of human freedom in every phase, an upholder of slavery in America, a denouncer of liberty for Ireland, and lately a most rabid opponent of the labor movement.

For ourselves we have never endeavored to force our own views upon anyone. Where we speak of matters outside of the domain of faith, for instance, questions of political economy like the land question, or questions of civil rights like the Irish question, we have never claimed infallibility, we have never denounced those who think differently as un-Catholic. Much less would we openly declare a large body of priests, the majority, in fact, of the diocese—as Protestants. We do not think such a course conducive either to harmony in the church or to the advance of religion or to the progress of truth.

American Farmers Doomed.

Rural Press.

The owner and worker of a farm and the tenant farmer are two very different and distinct individuals. One is, in fact, a capitalist, and the other is a laborer in every sense of the word, usually at the bottom rung of the ladder. Hon. B. F. Shively of Indiana estimated recently that twenty per cent decrease of owning farmers may now safely be added to the tenant class, which I consider too low, from what I know of mortgaged farms in this state—Ohio.

This estimate of Mr. Shively's would reduce the number of actual owners of the owners of Ohio in 1884 and 1885; to secure \$50,000,000 for 1884, 33,000, to secure \$50,000,000 for 1885, 26,821, to secure \$50,000,000 for 1886, it is thought to be larger. In addition to this, the cities, villages and towns had nearly the same for these years. In 1884, 31,382, to secure \$53,244,782; for 1885, 24,452, to secure \$50,904,452. Within an absolute and exact limit at hand for this date, it has been estimated that not over 150,000 farms are owned by the owners in this state. In 1890 official reports show 277,000. Thus it will be seen that the "American farmer," as we have known and boasted of him, is doomed.

A "TENANT'S GRAVEYARD."

Ramshackle Tenement Stores in Harlem and Their Rack-Rent Occupants.

The block lying between Third and Lexington avenues and 124th and 125th streets is a part of the Copper estate—a Harlem principal—which awaits the time when certain minors shall come of age before it can be partitioned among the heirs. Meantime the block has become the scene for the exploits of speculators, who have leased it for a few years. As the passer by stands on the north side of 125th street, Harlem's main cross town thoroughfare, and looks over at the block mentioned he sees a strange collection of incongruous structures sadly out of keeping with the general character of the street. The building on the corner of Third avenue, the first story of which is occupied as a retail liquor store, is an old-fashioned frame house, painted a dull color, which saw its best days many years ago. Next along the block eastward is a row of one story frame stalls, a little larger than fair grounds booths, and perhaps somewhat smaller than Corner Island photograph galleries. A row of rather dingy low two story brick houses fills in the space until the lot on the corner of Lexington avenue is reached, on which stands a building once a frame church, but now the Ninth judicial district court house. It is said that the church formerly stood on a lot several blocks distant, and moved to its present site to be transformed into whatever would bring rent. To the rear of the little one story structures facing the street, in what would ordinarily be their back yards, stands a brick building used as a theater. Evidently the possible field in rent per square yard in that block has been closely calculated upon.

A man named Martin, keeper of a livery stable at Thirty-ninth street and Broadway, holds a lease of about one-half of the full block. His lease includes the one-story stalls on 125th street, excepting the two or three next the liquor store, and runs around a short distance on Lexington avenue. Many branches of retail business are represented on his leasehold. In the store nearest Third avenue the rent is paid from him is an oyster saloon. Then follows a grocery, the main entrance to the theater, two real estate offices, an umbrella store, a barber shop, a carpet store, another entrance to the theater, a fruit store, a candy store, a picture frame and artists' materials store, a hat store, a shoe store, the court house entrance, a butcher's shop, a bird store, a telegraph office and insurance offices and a gent's furnishing goods store. Here the corner of Lexington avenue is reached. On Lexington avenue are entrances to an upstairs temperance hall and a synagogue in the old church building, while on the ground floor are three small stores.

Within a decade the rents of all these stores were \$20 to \$25. To-day the range of rents is from \$40 to \$85, and not a dollar in improvements has been put upon them in the meantime.

The rent of the court house is \$5,500 a year; that of the theater is not known to the tenants of the stores; the telegraph office, it is said, is rented at \$9 a month.

Several of the tenants in the block were talked with by a STANDARD reporter. One of them said that, beginning with the time of Mr. Martin's lease, rents had been put up \$3 or \$10 a month at the beginning of each year. He thought that most of the tenants in business in the block were hardly clearing expenses, yet this year there had been another increase of \$10 a month for nearly every one of them. He had known the block for years. In seven years he had seen thirty small business men move away, ruined by the high rents. This spring several were going out, as they either could not stay or would not. He had seen the rent of a store he pointed out going up from \$25 to \$35, and next the store, and so on yearly, until with the first of May it would be \$85 a month. He said that his experience with landlords was that they generally consulted nothing but the tenant's ability to pay the rent demanded. There was a case in which

GATHERING AS IT ROLLS.

THE LABOR PARTY'S STEADY GROWTH
ASTONISHES THE POLITICIANS.

Organizing Politically and Socially—Even
Forming Baseball Clubs—Fifteen Clubs
With Permanent Headquarters—The
"Sun" Admits a Probability of Future
Success.

For the last five weeks THE STANDARD has been visiting the various district organizations of the united labor party, to see for itself how the party was progressing. The result is highly satisfactory. As a rule the clubs are in a flourishing condition, and fifteen of them have permanent headquarters, which are open every evening, where members and friends can meet to talk or read the papers and standard labor literature. The movement partakes more of the character of a crusade against a wrong of which the members of the new party have been victims. The politicians of the old parties do not seem to be able to understand it. They cannot understand how it is, with no election pending, with—in their opinion—nothing going on out of the ordinary, that men can be brought together night after night to talk "politics." These men who lead in the old political organizations have not yet discovered that the politics they mean and the politics the united labor party mean are dissimilar. And the probabilities are that they will not discover the difference until it is too late—for them. But, briefly stated, the difference is this: The old politics is politics for revenue and place, and the new politics is politics for principle.

The united labor party organization of the country, as stated above, is in a highly satisfactory condition. There is more to confirm this statement than the mere word of THE STANDARD. The city papers are discovering it. The World is noticing it; the Herald has considerable to say about it, even going to the extent of appealing to the members of the new party to be what that paper calls "true to themselves" and to strengthen the hands of the president whom the democrats elected to the White House. The Sun of last Sunday has a column article pointing out what the future of the united labor party will probably be in this country, and showing, even from its own biased standpoint, that the party is becoming stronger every day. The only consolation it has for its old friend, Tammany, and it is a consolation that will need extra blankets to keep it warm—is the "McGlynn episode," which the Sun thinks "has stamped, for the most part, the Irish and Irish-Americans back to the Tammany fold, where they will stay." . . . "whatever the affirmations of the labor people might be." But, in considering the Sun article as a whole, one will conclude that its editor would not bet many dollars on the "stampede." It is not necessary to bring the case of the doctor into this article further than to say that he has more friends in the party now than when the "episode" occurred.

The following district clubs have permanent headquarters: The Second, 32 New Bowerly; Third, 42 Great Jones street (in partnership with the Tailors' league, whose members also belong to the united labor party); Fourth, 68 East Broadway; Sixth, 412 Grand (to open May 1); Seventh, South Fifth avenue and West Fourth street; Tenth, 197 East Fourth street; Twelfth, 642 East Fifth street; Fourteenth, 187 First avenue; Fifteenth, 475 Ninth avenue; Seventeenth, 75 Ninth avenue; Eighteenth, 161 East Thirty-first street; Nineteenth, Duane's hall, corner St. Nicholas and Eighth avenues; Twentieth, 1008 Second avenue; Twenty-third, 1897 Third avenue; Twenty-fourth, 151st street and Third avenue.

The state of organization of the districts may be summarized as follows: First, fair; Second, good; Third, fair; Fourth, good; Fifth, needs help; Sixth, fair, but needs a little oil on the troubled waters; Seventh, good, but has a disturbing element in its Eighth, good, but needs work below Grand street; Ninth, good; Tenth, No. 1; Eleventh, needs looking after; Twelfth, good; Thirteenth, good; Fourteenth, No. 1; Fifteenth, No. 1; Sixteenth, good; Seventeenth, No. 1 (will lead all the united labor party majorities in the districts in the next election); Eighteenth, No. 1 (will be carried next November if proper work is done); Nineteenth, good; Twentieth, No. 1 (can be carried); Twenty-first (brownstone district), can not expect much, but has a fair organization; Twenty-second, No. 1 (will be carried); Twenty-third, good (the members are exerting themselves to the utmost in organization, and will endeavor to overcome the majority against them next fall); Twenty-fourth, fair. A thing which has been a tower of strength to the new party has been the social feature. It appears strange to our practical political opponents to see a man going to a meeting of a political club in company with his wife and family, or, if he has no family, with his sweetheart. It has not been the custom in the old parties for the members of clubs to take their families with them; in fact, quite the reverse, even to the point of not taking along any decent person, male and female. Some politicians sneer at this new idea, and some are alarmed. But it is a point in favor of the new party that wife and sweetheart take enough interest in it to go to the meetings.

From outside the city the reports are very encouraging. No estimate can be made of what the strength of the party is in the state, further than the random remark of an alleged experienced politician that of the votes cast in the last election in favor of calling a constitutional convention, over three-fifths would, when needed, wheel into line with the united labor party. This would mean that the new party has more without complete state organization, over three hundred thousand voting friends. More will be known on that point, however, when the state convention of the party meets. It would be well to call the attention of our friends to one circumstance: With the exception of Philadelphia, since the election in New York, wherever the labor party has put up a ticket, it has won, or else has cast about one-third the total vote polled. If that can be repeated in this state we will cast about five hundred thousand votes in the next election for state officers.

The outlook for the success of the principles of the united labor party is very gratifying. All that is necessary is hard work and harmony. Let it be determined, once for all, that those who are not with the party are against it; that the first are wanted and the second are not.

THURSDAY, April 21.—The Fifth district club met at Warren hall. Routine business.

The Eighteenth held their second meeting at their new headquarters, 161 Thirty-first street. Though the only business was hearing reports from the election districts, the attendance was large, showing what an attractive feature a permanent headquarters is. Frank Daley was elected second vice-chairman and Thomas Doyle vice-chairman, in place of John F. Mitchell, resigned. Ten new members were enrolled. The membership is now nearly 800. Rooms open every night for friends and visitors.

Professor Molina's class in political economy held their usual weekly meeting, and discussed the labor question scientifically. The professor is, without doubt, one of the ablest scientific debaters on political economy in the ranks of the united labor party.

FRIDAY, April 22.—The Eighth held a business meeting at 153 Forsyth street. Satisfactory reports on organization in the election committee had become a star chamber body. The professor thinks that all information should come to them through the regular official channel—that is, from the delegates to the general committee.

The Twenty-first had their usual monthly meeting. The entertainment held the previous meeting had been a success. A special meeting to hear the final report of the committee who had charge of the entertainment will be held next Sunday at 4 o'clock at 705 Seventh avenue. Miss Lizzie Deady sold the most

system of nominating candidates was read and laid on the table.

At the meeting of the Ninth the principal business was perfecting arrangements for the club's picnic, which will take place August 8, at Atlantic garden, 155th street and Eighth avenue.

The Twelfth district club met at 642 East Fifth street. William P. O'Meara, of the general executive committee, was present and presented the charges preferred against the district organization at the last meeting of the general committee. The club appointed a committee to appear before the executive committee on organization when the case comes up. The signers of the charges will be cited to appear also. The difference, being only a matter as to where the club should hold its meetings, will be easily settled. The club is very strong, and the probabilities are that in the next election, if good generalship prevails and the stumbling blocks are pushed aside, it will overcome the united democratic vote by which they lost the district in the last election.

SATURDAY, April 23.—The Second district has changed its time of meeting. Hereafter it will meet on the second and fourth evenings for business and on the third and fifth for debates, lectures, etc. The headquarters of the club are open every evening, and the young men especially are working to take the district out of the hands of the corrupt politicians who have so long controlled it. This district has long been known as the most corrupt in the city, but the vote of the united labor party in the last election—1,682—astonished all good men and paralyzed the old party heeled. This was the banner district for the "saviors." Shrewd calculators expect to see the united labor party of the district poll at least 2,500 votes next November.

The Fourth district met at their headquarters, 68 East Broadway. The committee's report showed that the club had realized very handsomely from their lecture at the Windsor theater. Mr. George received a vote of thanks for his lecture; Mr. Frank B. Murtha for the use of his theater; the Balle musical club for volunteering their musical services, and E. D. Farrell for chairs loaned by him at the lecture. The agitation committee were instructed to call a mass meeting. The district is being thoroughly and successfully organized in the election districts. The members of the club talk about having a picnic during the summer. A pleasant feature of THE STANDARD's visit to the club was the meeting of the reporter with Hugh Greenan, one of the old wheelhorses of the labor movement in this city, but who appears to be now, whether voluntarily or not, occupying a back seat in the councils of the united labor party. It is to be hoped that he will forgo the front again, for his experience and advice are too valuable to be lost. Hugh glories in the fact that in the last election his election district was carried for the labor candidate—by a majority of one. And yet five years ago he stood out at that same polling place during the whole day, and when the polls closed he took his position as watcher, and saw one vote—his own—recorded for the Central labor union candidate for the assembly. The change in public sentiment seems to please Hugh greatly.

The Twenty-third district Progress and Poverty club held their usual weekly meeting, with Mr. Lynch in the chair. Mr. Eastlake read the chapter on trade from "Protection or Free Trade," and a debate followed. It has been the custom heretofore for an advocate of the "George" theory to close the debate, and an opponent to open the next. The order will in the future be reversed, giving the opponents of the "George" idea the last say. The meeting was very largely attended, the headquarters being taxed to their utmost for accommodation of members and their friends.

The social feature of the day was the ball of the Roslyn benevolent association at Harmony hall, Essex street. A large majority of these who were present are active members of the united labor party in the Tenth, Twelfth and Fourteenth assembly districts. Among the visitors were prominent democratic and republican politicians. The result was there was as much political talk around the tables as there was dancing on the floor. The "po' los' sheep" that at present prefer to be penned up in the two party sheepfolds were informed that the lamp still held out to burn, even for the vilest sinner. The officers of the Roslyn are: P. C. Bamberger, president; Theo. Kollen, vice-president; Fred J. Etzel, financial secretary; Andrew Sieben, corresponding secretary; John Klackner, treasurer; Frank Gerner, sergeant-at-arms. John Barkey was the floor manager, and led the grand march, assisted by Floor Manager John Scholl and wife. Among those who followed were P. C. Bamberger, wife and child; John Klackner, chairman of the reception committee, and wife; Mr. Herman and wife, Theo. Koller and wife, John Hemmeller and lady, Joseph McCloskey and lady, Charles Kill and sister, John Williams and lady, John Marion and lady and Wallace Norwacky and lady. A handsome horseshoe of flowers, presented by G. Mendel, was drawn for by the ladies present, and won by Annie Camp of Brooklyn. Among the non-dancers present were M. J. Murray, chairman, and William McCabe, secretary, of the Fourteenth district club of the united labor party; H. Gruier, secretary of the Tenth; Henry Anckettill, the sweet poet of THE STANDARD; Joseph A. Soder, of No. 6 and the Tenth district; Charles Steckler and George Francis Roesch and others of Tammany hall. It was a noticeable fact that a large proportion of the male dancers on the floor were among the most active workers of the united labor party around the polls in the last election, and as the vote polled in the Tenth, Twelfth and Fourteenth districts showed, they were as good political workers as they were dancers.

SUNDAY, April 24.—The Second district club gave a concert at their hall, 32 New Bowerly, consisting of vocal and instrumental music. During the evening Prof. P. J. Nelson revealed some of the mysteries of mesmerism. "Doc, the Wizard," performed some very interesting tricks with cards. Master Jeremiah O'Hara excellently rendered a beautiful song, Thomas Monahan recited "Spartacus the Gladiator." Wm. O'Neill sang one of Moore's melodies. James Degnan recited "The Irish Famine."

MONDAY, April 25.—The Fourteenth district club met at 257 East Tenth street and heard reports from the election districts. The club has at last secured permanent headquarters. They are at 157 First avenue, immediately opposite the Tammany headquarters. The lease will be for one year from May 1, and a house warming will be had probably on the following Saturday. A large transparency will be painted and put up immediately. The picnic committee are actively at work and they prophesy that the affair, which will be at Sulzer's park on Saturday, July 30, will be a success. A resolution was adopted that "it is the sense of this club that the general executive committee of the party is the servant of the general county committee, and not of the assembly district clubs." This was deemed necessary because of reports in circulation that, through the refusal of some of the members of the general executive committee to report their proceedings to the assembly district associations, the executive committee had become a star chamber body. The Fourteenth thinks that all information should come to them through the regular official channel—that is, from the delegates to the general committee.

The Twenty-first had their usual monthly meeting. The entertainment held the previous meeting had been a success. A special meeting to hear the final report of the committee who had charge of the entertainment will be held next Sunday at 4 o'clock at 705 Seventh avenue. Miss Lizzie Deady sold the most

tickets for the affair, and received a gold watch; the second prize, an accordion, was carried off by Miss O'Donohue. The second Monday in May has been set apart by the club for a McGlynn mass meeting.

The Twenty-second met at their rooms, 1422 Second avenue. The committee on permanent headquarters reported on several halls in the neighborhood which they had in view. The probabilities are the organization will locate on Third avenue. The election districts are being organized. The club has engaged Brommer's union park for a picnic on July 9. It is likely that the baseball players of the Twenty-third will get a reply to their challenge from the Twenty-second, inasmuch as this district is organizing a nine.

A regular meeting of the Twenty-third assembly district was held at 105th street and Third avenue. C. F. Doody, chairman of the district presided. The organization of the sixty-six election districts, which is now being pushed, was discussed, and arrangements were made for perfecting the organization of eight of the districts this and next week. Ten thousand circulars in English and German have been ordered for distribution throughout the whole district. The committee reported that the Bulletin of the district had cleared, overall expenses, \$40, which would go to the organization. As regards the picnic to be held in June, at Brommer's place, Harlem, it was decided to sell tickets to outside organizations at forty per cent discount, so that these organizations could make a fair profit in selling them to members and friends. Four prizes of considerable value have been offered as premiums for the sale of the largest number of tickets. It was resolved that the district had full confidence in its member of the county executive committee, and would not require of him a "detailed report" of all the proceedings of the committee, but would leave it to his judgment to "make a report of such portions of the proceedings as he may deem proper." The land and labor base ball club of the district challenges the clubs of other districts to play them. One match will be played at the picnic, for which a medal will be given to the victorious club. During the summer the club is desirous of playing as often as possible.

TUESDAY, April 26.—The Second district club met at 32 New Bowerly, and the Third at 42 Great Jones street. Only routine business was transacted.

Paulus Thomas presided at the meeting of the Fifteenth district, at 475 Ninth avenue. Reports were heard from the election districts, and a number of new members were proposed and admitted. Some of the club's best orators addressed the members on the principles of the party.

The Sixteenth district met at 350 First avenue. Arrangements were completed for the McGlynn mass meeting at Clarendon hall on May 4.

WEDNESDAY, April 27.—The First district club met at 28 Beach street. The principal subject was how to raise money to open a permanent headquarters. One of the methods adopted was a picnic. After the close of business, addresses on the state of the party were delivered by James Degnan of the Second and T. L. Murphy, Thomas Moran, Jeremiah Murphy and other members of the club. T. L. Murphy was elected corresponding secretary. The Sixth met at 412 Grand. They will occupy their new headquarters next Monday. The election districts are doing well.

The Tenth held their regular meeting at 197 East Fourth. Routine business.

The meeting of the Thirteenth assembly district was very fully attended, many ladies being present. Messrs. Mallen, Frey, Lynch, Young and Sullivan were appointed a committee to arrange for a literary and musical entertainment in the near future. A sum sufficient to cover the entire expense was subscribed on the spot. The committee will report at the next meeting. Several new members were proposed. The new party is pretty firmly established in the Thirteenth, and will make a show of votes when the time comes that will astonish the regular politicians.

The meetings for the coming week are: Friday, April 28.—Eight, 153 Forsyth; Ninth, lecture by Erasmus Potter at Cooper union. Saturday, April 29.—Fourth, 68 East Broadway; Twenty-third, 1897 Third avenue, lecture. Monday May 2.—Twentieth, 1008 Second avenue; Twenty-third, 1897 Third avenue. Tuesday, May 3.—Twenty-fourth, 151st street and Third avenue; Thirtieth, 42 Great Jones street; Second, 32 New Bowerly. Wednesday, May 4.—State committee, Cooper union; First, 26 Beach street; Sixth, 412 Grand. Thursday, May 5.—General committee, Clarendon hall; Fifth, Warren hall, corner Spring and Clark streets; Eighteenth, 161 East Thirty-second.

A land and labor club has been organized at Buffalo, N. Y., under charter from the central committee. Mr. C. M. Kinski of 51 Delaware place having been chosen president, and Mr. J. W. Neil of 1304 Jefferson street secretary. The regular meetings of the club will be held fortnightly at the rooms of the Central labor union. Local clubs are forming for the different wards.

The full list of officers of the united labor club recently instituted at Binghamton by J. J. Bealin is: President, J. H. Blakeney; vice-president, John Doyle; secretary, E. W. Dundon; treasurer, Thomas Hynes; executive committee, Wm. Blackett, Doyle, Dundon, A. C. Busselman, H. H. Freeman, Charles Evans and C. Sumard. The members are earnest and active. The meeting this week will be open to the friends of members. Good results are anticipated.

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Campaign of the coming fall, when by concerta for the
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OF THE UNITED STATES.—Local Assembly No. 4, K. of L., located at Harrison, Pa., has issued a
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4, 1887, for the purpose of forming a National
District of Iron and Steel Workers of the United States.
All assemblies of iron and steel workers are requested
to send delegates to said convention. All delegates
must come with credentials properly signed and having
the seal of the Local to which they belong. For further
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